



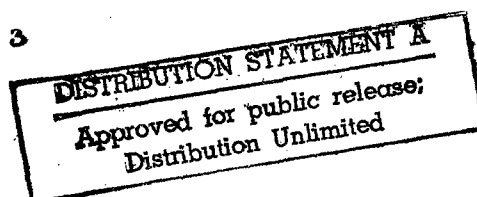
JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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25 October 1991

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International Affairs

U.S. Wants War Between Pakistan and India

91AS1342A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 18 Jul 91 p 3

[Article by Nusrat Mirza: "India-Pakistan War: Part of the New World Order"]

[Text] Many of Benazir's actions and statements have amazed me. Her speech at Rajiv Gandhi's funeral services on 23 May 1991 in New Delhi is one of them. She said that Rajiv Gandhi's assassination was a direct result of the "new world order." The second statement is the one in which she accepted U.S. demands about our nuclear program and said that Pakistan should not become a nuclear power. This is exactly opposite of what the people of Pakistan want. All we can say is that she made this statement to please the Americans. I was amazed when Benazir remained silent in a press conference that had been arranged for then prime minister of India Rajiv Gandhi in which he declared Azad Kashmir an integral part of India. This was a joint press conference for the prime ministers of India and Pakistan and was held in Pakistan. Rajiv Gandhi went as far as to say that Pakistan's nuclear program was managed by its military. It is the duty of any of Pakistan's prime ministers to advocate Pakistan's stand and if they do not, then they are not doing their duty.

Benazir was greatly criticized when she did not react to Rajiv Gandhi's statement issued at that press conference. Possibly, it was because of her inexperience or she decided not to say anything in order to strengthen the personal relationship. Meanwhile, Rajiv Gandhi demonstrated that he was a sharp leader and used the information about Pakistan's nuclear program being under the military management for his country's benefit. Perhaps, Benazir herself was surprised at Rajiv Gandhi's action of sharing privileged information in a press conference. Anyhow, Benazir appeared inferior as a leader when compared to Rajiv Gandhi in that press conference.

I asked Benazir Bhutto in a February 1991 meeting with her why she decided to act ignorant about Pakistan's nuclear program. She said that a country can become great in two ways—by being a military power or an economic power. She said that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had envisioned Pakistan becoming a great military power. She, however, wanted Pakistan to become great by being an economic power. When I asked if she would maintain her stand even when considering our geographic location, with India's designs on Pakistan, with the Soviet Union on the other side, and the fact that Iraq had invaded Kuwait, a very prosperous state, she said that if a mad person comes to power, the whole region would be destroyed.

Benazir's stand that Pakistan should not become a nuclear power does not agree with the wishes of Pakistani people. It is possible that she was trying to please the United States of America so she could return to power. The question is why did she make the other very

strange anti-American statement at Rajiv Gandhi's funeral? I think that Benazir made this statement when she was very upset and saddened, as if a very close and dear friend was dead and a very important plan to which her own future was linked was destroyed with that death. She may have supported the stand on not approving Pakistan's nuclear program just to please the United States and therefore seek help in getting back in power. It is possible that Benazir had concluded at Rajiv Gandhi's assassination that whatever happens, the United States was aware of her ambitions based on past records. I would like to repeat here a story, which was published in a magazine and was spread in this country after Rajiv Gandhi's visit here. Indian and Pakistani intelligence agencies made sure that no listening device was installed in the room where Rajiv Gandhi and Benazir held their meeting. According to this story, the CIA somehow succeeded in recording this conversation. Benazir made some comments about a Pakistani leader and an agency; however, the United States had no interest in those comments. The United States became very interested because Rajiv Gandhi and Benazir also said a few things against the United States, such as how to decrease its influence in this region. A U.S. diplomat took this recorded conversation to a high-level Pakistani official and invited another official to listen. It was decided to repeat a sentence from Benazir's conversation to her to let her know that they knew of what she had said. According to this story, Benazir lost her color when she learned about it. It is possible that this story is not true and originated from, let say, a conversation in a bar. However, the world saw how Rajiv Gandhi got into trouble a few days later and was defeated in the elections. Benazir's government was dismissed and she was also defeated. Field Marshal Ayub Khan kept screaming in 1968 that the U.S. Government was trying to throw him out and similarly, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto also made noise. Rajiv said a few days before his assassination that Ziaul Haq was assassinated and that he and Zia had made good progress in settling the Kashmir issue. Perhaps they concluded that it was in the interest of the region to solve their problems by holding talks. Perhaps both of them believed in the principle of "live and let live" and both advocated intellectual development. In this context, a question arises: Was Rajiv Gandhi sure of his success that India and Pakistan had agreed to "cooperate" because of the conditions at that time? Was he assassinated because the danger of war between India and Pakistan was almost removed? Does that mean that world politics require armed aggression between India and Pakistan so that both countries are transformed into a heap of rubble? Do they want the two countries to finally get on their knees and beg from the Western nations? The question arises: Did Benazir understand all of this and make that statement while she was very upset and distressed and had distanced herself from the United States of America? I think U.S. officials know her well enough and this statement did not make much difference. Therefore, it would be better for her to represent the desires of the people of Pakistan and speak the language that the natives of this nation understand.

She should adopt a policy that the people can relate to and is not too complex to be understood by them. Even if she dies while following this path, she will not have lost. According to our religion, death comes according to a predetermined schedule and life is guarded until the appointed time. It is not necessary that a person be aggressive. All one must do is to represent the people's wishes and viewpoints and represent them seriously and consistently. It is nice to hear that Benazir said during her recent trip to Europe that we should define fundamental Muslim terms. It is important since the Western nations are calling these principles or beliefs "barbaric and savage." It should be remembered that, until the beginning of the 20th Century, Western people called Muslims savages.

It is perfectly clear that the Americans want to be the supreme power during this and the next century. They want to take precautionary steps to weaken any country that has even the slightest possibility of becoming a great power within the next 50 years. It wants to destroy such countries in the same way as it destroyed Iraq. It talks flowery language to camouflage its ambitions. This tendency or approach is not new. There have been nations, groups, or people in the past, which have presented ideologies to hide their ambitions. If these are presented successfully, their selfish and backward ideas will not be discovered. The United States of America is talking very loudly about human welfare now as part of President Bush's declaration about the new world order. He has said, "Various nations have gathered to achieve the common goal of human welfare, peace, security, independence, and law and order."

However, if facts are analyzed, we will learn that this nation claiming loudly to support human welfare has caused innumerable miseries for the human race. We know about the destruction in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It forced a peace treaty after World War I, which was actually the foundation stone for the World War II. It wasted 200,000 lives in the Iraqi war and an equal number of Kurds will also die later. This is the U.S. style of peace and order! However, this meaningless murder of 400,000 persons does not mean anything to the United States because this is a simple massacre of Muslims and, perhaps, Muslims are not human in their definition. It is possible that they want to play games of blood and fire in our Southeast Asia. The people here [to them], are just Eastern people, anyway!

Just to satisfy their cowboy character, the U.S. leaders are trying to get these two countries, which are not even considered as human nations [by the United States], to clash with each other like two bulls so that neither of the two countries can become strong for the next 50 years.

U.S. Seen Conspiring Against Country

Call To Oppose U.S. Aid

91ASI498A Karachi JANG in Urdu 31 Jul 91 p 3

[Editorial: "Prime Minister's Stand on Pakistan's Atomic Policy"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif told American newspaper LEADERS in an interview that Pakistan's stand on nuclear weapons is related to the situation in this region. He said that he wanted to make south Asia a nuclear-free zone, and that neighboring countries should also not have atomic weapons. All the objections raised by the United States and other nations against Pakistan's nuclear program were unilateral, and are part of a conspiracy to make Pakistan an easy victim for its enemy. The United States closes its eyes when it comes to the nuclear programs of Israel, India, South Africa, and Argentina. However, it has stopped military and economic aid to Pakistan to force it to cancel its nuclear program. It is pressuring other nations to also stop aid to Pakistan. In this context, Pakistan's government has formed a policy of self-reliance. Since its economy, trapped in foreign loans, is facing difficult problems, the U.S. policy toward Pakistan has become more aggressive since the Gulf war. India has spoiled all of Pakistan's efforts to make south Asia and the Indian Ocean a nuclear-free region. Therefore, Pakistan cannot even think about depriving itself of this modern technology. Such a step would be equivalent to sabotaging our own independence, and could be suicidal. It is depressing to learn that all U.S. efforts are aimed against Islamic countries. After Iraq, it is threatening Iran, Pakistan, and Algeria. Against this background, not only Pakistan, but also all Islamic countries should start thinking about how they can counter this aggressive U.S. attitude. One effective approach would be to give up U.S. aid so that this aid does not endanger Islamic nations.

Arrest of Businessmen Condemned

91ASI498B Karachi JANG in Urdu 9 Aug 91 p 3

[Editorial: "New Conspiracy"]

[Text] U.S. pressure against Pakistan's peaceful nuclear program is increasing rapidly. Even though the United States has already canceled its military and economic aid to Pakistan, the seriousness of this situation is apparent from the fact that it is spying on the business of some Pakistani residents abroad. A Pakistani businessman was arrested in Germany for sending a special kind of steel to Pakistan. According to the German Government, this Pakistani national was arrested at the behest of the U.S. Government. A Pakistani national living in Canada was also arrested for similar reasons. However, he was released by an American court. It was learned that after this businessman was arrested, the U.S. Government was trying to have him transferred to the United States, so that he could be tried under U.S. export control and technology transfer laws. These incidents indicate that the United States is tightening its hold on Pakistan's nuclear program, because no Islamic country is permitted to have nuclear weapons as part of the "new world order." It is also expected that after Pakistan's nuclear installations are destroyed, Pakistan's famed nuclear scientists will be arrested for breaking the law.

Under these circumstances, we must be careful, as a little complacency on our part could force us into serious problems.

Democratic Party Prejudiced

91AS1498C Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu
10 Aug 91 p 10

[Excerpts] According to a recent news report, the U.S. Government is redrafting its Overseas Aid Act. According to it, the Pressler Amendment will be removed along with several other articles. It would be useless to assume that this new legislative activity will not affect Pakistan's nuclear program. There are several reasons for this assumption. First, it is not necessary to think that the U.S. Government will succeed in its efforts, especially because of the powerful democratic lobby in the U.S. Congress, which is a strong supporter of nuclear nonproliferation. It will make sure that no leniency is practiced when it comes to stopping the spread of nuclear weapons. If this law is successful in its goals, Pakistan will have to accept U.S. conditions for its nuclear program. It would not be unrealistic to expect that the deadlock that the United States and Pakistan have reached over the latter's nuclear program and over which the United States had stopped aid to Pakistan from 1 October 1990 would end. All of this is not simple or easy.

It is true that the recent meeting of the Consortium for Aiding Pakistan, which was held in Paris, and in which aid for \$2.3 billion for 1991-92 was approved, indicates that Pakistan is being given some time to review its nuclear program. (According to recent news received from Washington, the U.S. Congress has rejected President Bush's suggestion that the law that rejects military and economic aid to Pakistan should be nullified. According to All India Radio, the subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific Affairs has said in its initial report that Pakistan could get its aid for 1992 when President Bush issues a certificate stating that Pakistan does not have nuclear weapons.) There are several indicators that point to this development. The Bush administration is opposing Senator Steven Solarez' action, according to which, aid to Pakistan should be stopped on 30 September 1991 (when the period of the last year's economic aid ends). Senator Solarez is the chairman of the Asian-Pacific Affairs subcommittee. He was heard saying that no aid was to be given to Pakistan for 1992. Meanwhile, the Bush administration has requested that Congress not put any time limitation on aid to Pakistan. Another House subcommittee, whose chairman is Democrat David Obay has suggested that the fund that has been earmarked for Pakistan should be diverted to the Kurds, who have been displaced from northern Iraq.

U.S. diplomats admit that the Bush administration is not in a position to oppose Congressional pressure until the problem of the Pakistani nuclear program is resolved. This would mean that the aid reserved for Pakistan could be used elsewhere. The congressmen will become

more active after 1 August, and if Pakistan does not qualify for U.S. aid, then its funds will be used elsewhere. This was announced by a senior diplomat.

The struggle between the U.S. administration and the legislators indicates that no specific change will occur, which could help Pakistan keep its present nuclear program. However, if it wants to receive U.S. aid, then it should review its program in order to meet the required criteria. President Bush recommended to Congress in a 12 April letter that the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 should be replaced with new laws. He argued that the new law, the International Cooperation Act of 1991, will be much better than the old law. He has also expressed his fears related to nuclear weapons. There is no doubt that President Bush's political position was greatly strengthened after the Gulf war. He is using it for new laws. This step is to show Bush's presidential authority over the Congress.

The main purpose of changing the 30-year-old law is to increase flexibility in U.S. foreign policy. President Bush said in his letter to the president of the Senate that the recent developments in the Gulf region demand that military, economic, and human resources aid, which is an integral part of U.S. foreign policy, should be provided to affected countries. However, the law that directs foreign policy is so complicated and full of loopholes that it has become useless in the present era to help the United States protect its national interests. President Bush clearly said in his letter that he wants to balance congressional and presidential authority. Therefore, he has removed all unnecessary articles in the proposed bill so that the new laws can meet the needs of the times. This letter also includes such items as nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Pakistan has been specially mentioned in this context, and no leniency in U.S. conditions has been indicated. Therefore, if Pakistan still wants U.S. aid, then it has no alternative but to accept U.S. conditions and review its nuclear program, which would call for stopping production of enriched uranium. The production of enriched uranium points to Pakistan's desire to make nuclear weapons.

In addition, Pakistan will not be allowed to stock enriched uranium in large quantities, since that would be an indication that it wants to make nuclear weapons with it. The United States expects Pakistan not to have any enriched uranium in stock at all. We the Pakistanis are not willing to trade our independence and autonomy for U.S. aid. Pakistan has declared loudly again and again that it has no nuclear weapons, and does not have the desire to make any. Pakistan has also referred to the presidential certificate issued in 1989, in which President Bush had expressed his satisfaction that Pakistan's nuclear program was peaceful. Then suddenly, in October 1990, Bush refused to issue such a certificate. When, in the spring of 1990, relations between India and Pakistan became very tense, the United States began to accuse Pakistan of starting a nuclear program all over again, and accelerating its program to enrich uranium in

order to make nuclear weapons. Pakistan has vehemently denied this allegation. [passage omitted]

The United States does not want to see Islamic politics prosper. Therefore, it has decided to include India in the Middle East security efforts. A four-day conference between Indian and American leaders was held in Berkeley, California during the last week of February. In this conference, India demanded its right as a regional superpower to express its opinion about the Gulf affair. The U.S. leaders said that if India plays a proper role in the Gulf affair, then it would be able to help the U.S. attain its goals. These goals are to eradicate Islamic fundamentalists and keep the nuclear and chemical weapons away from fundamentalists. They were pointing towards Pakistan and Iran. [passage omitted]

Mr. Bush! You are zealously pursuing the Pakistani nuclear program. For God's sake, leave Pakistan alone. No doubt you are the only world power left now, and you have the United Nations and the Security Council right in your fist. If you wish, you can have the Security Council declare Pakistan's peaceful nuclear program dangerous, and have it stopped but remember that God may delay His action but He would never disappoint us. He acts slowly. How would you feel if tomorrow someone rises to challenge you?

Commentary Says U.S. Arming India

92AS0016C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
24 Sep 91 p 6

[Article by Shahid Aziz: "U.S.: Arming India to the Teeth"]

[Text] The story of U.S. betrayal of Pakistan continues unabated. Never in the history was there such an example of one-sided relationship totally geared to serve the interests of one party as the case of Pak-U.S. relations. But one hoped that with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the sacrifice Pakistan had to endure for 12 long years, the United States would support this old ally and friend, particularly when her very survival is at stake. However, the United States persists with its old policy even under different international and internal circumstances, and insists on treating Islamabad the way it treated her when Yahya Khan was ruling the country. Evidently, Pakistan has turned again into a "low priority" region according to the American strategists with the collapse of USSR as a super power and the inevitable disintegration of the Soviet empire. Hence, the emphasis has been shifted to India in a most pronounced manner.

Since the ultimate goal of the United States is the collapse of the communist regime of China and its disintegration in the same manner that took place in the Soviet Union, a regional super power—that is, India—has to be built and strengthened. However, within this scenario Pakistan stands in the way due to her strong ties with China on the one hand, and her resolve to pursue a genuinely independent policy, on the other.

Earlier, the United States used to be somehow uneasy about the strong relations of New Delhi with Moscow. But with the "taming" of USSR, Washington tends now to even strengthen this relationship. That is why the United States has blessed the renewal of the friendship treaty between India and the USSR.

From the Soviet Union, India obtains all sorts of sophisticated military hardware at a "friendly price." Moscow has been so much generous with New Delhi that it used to subsidise 42 percent of the cost of armaments and spare parts it exported to India. Huge loans were also given with only 2 and ½ percent interest charged on long-term credits for defence purchases.

Trade

In the field of trade, India was allowed to pay back in nonconvertible rupees. To relieve India from the pressure on its limited foreign exchange reserves, the Soviet Union accepts roubles in payment for importing 4.5 million tonnes annually of Soviet oil, and that too at a "friendly price." In addition to a trade surplus of over 20 billion rupees, the Soviet Union has also provided India with most advanced weapons including nuclear submarines.

Now that India is facing a foreign exchange crunch where the Soviets cannot help, Washington has immediately intervened to extend publicly the hand of assistance. Thus, the U.S.-dominated World Bank and IMF have both agreed to provide India with a 11.4-billion-dollar loan and even to extending CCFF (Compensatory Contingency Financing Facilities), despite the fact that India has not yet passed its budget, a prior condition for giving CCFF.

Outstanding, India has not been asked to cut its defence budget, nor has it been asked to sign the NPT [Non-Proliferation Treaty]. Conversely, Pakistan is being pressurised by the IMF and World Bank to slash her defence expenditure by Rs[rupees]12 billion. Islamabad has been even warned that if it fails to comply, all bilateral and multilateral foreign aid would be cut.

Sadly enough, the champion of human rights and the holders of the torch of liberty never bothered to raise the grave issue of Indian abuse of human rights on an unprecedented scale in occupied Kashmir, though the whole world has witnessed the brutalities of the Indian army and security forces against the innocent Kashmiris who only demand the right to self-determination.

The story does not end here. Washington has recently gone out of its way to strengthen the Indian armed forces. For this, the Indian Chief of Army Staff, Gen. S.F. Rodrigues, had to visit Washington and hold serious discussions with the brass of the Pentagon. Subsequently, the Americans started talking of an "institutionalised dialogue" on defence cooperation between Washington and New Delhi, enhancing service-to-service contacts, periodic policy reviews and even joint military exercises. An Indian-U.S. Army Executive Steering Council has been formed to study the progress of military cooperation between the two countries. Gen. Rodrigues should have worked wonders during

his visit to the United States; for, India has become so close to the United States that a formal invitation was extended to India to co-host the Pacific Armies Management Seminar!

What Washington has not declared, however, is the keenness of the Indians to acquire advanced technology and weapons that can neutralise the Pakistani missiles system, particularly the radar-evading technology used in the American Stealth and Patriot missiles. Indians have also been trying to improve the accuracy of Agni, an Intermediate-Range Ballistic Missile (IRBM) so that it can target all Pakistani cities, while claiming falsely that Pakistan has acquired SS-2 IRBMs from the People's Republic of China.

Indians are also negotiating with the United States a share of the American surplus weapons deployed in Europe and to be reduced according to the treaty of reduction of conventional weapons in Europe.

Instead of spending hundreds of millions of dollars on transfer and destruction of excess weapons, the United States might be thinking now of selling them or even to gift them to the Indians.

With Pakistan, the Americans have started a malicious campaign of defamation and blackmail similar to that used before the destruction of Iraq. Now, Pakistan is classified among 10 top countries where "money-laundering and narcotics-related revenues are daily increasing," covert threats are being used extensively so that Pakistan should submit before Indian hegemony, give up her indigenous nuclear programme and even betray the Kashmiri intifada and the Afghan Mujahideen.

All these developments are very serious and point out that the Americans are encouraging the Indians to commit aggression against Pakistan. It is within this perspective that full attention should be paid to the monitoring of the American political and military dynamics to forecast significant trends and developments in U.S.-Indian relations.

While India is reviewing its defence strategy, it is possible that New Delhi might attack Pakistan either on behalf of the United States and Israel or to find a way out of its internal chaos. Already, the Soviet and Americans attitude towards the region seems to precipitate a regional conflict as evident from the renewal of the friendship treaty between New Delhi and Moscow and the increasing military cooperation between Washington and New Delhi. Since the People's Republic of China is the ultimate target behind any aggression against Pakistan, Islamabad and Beijing should revolutionise their ties to face the new challenge.

US-USSR Agreement on Afghanistan Criticized

[Editorial by THE MUSLIM: "The Gathering Storm"]
91AS1576F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
16 Sep 91 p 6

[Text] Our Foreign Office is variously reportedly to have noted, partly welcomed or accepted with some vague qualifications the US-USSR agreement on stop all manner of aid to their respective pawns in Afghanistan [sentence as [published]. In plain words the Soviet Union would not send any aid to the regime in Kabul headed by the controversial Gen Najibullah and, it doesn't have to be said, the United States would hold its hands in respect of the Mujahideen in Pakistan. First, note the irony as exemplified by the superpower ethics. The USSR inflicted itself upon Afghanistan with a mighty force. The United States jumped into Afghanistan for its own imperialistic Cold War considerations. The result was a 12-year-old enforced civil war in Afghanistan, both superpowers fuelling it with demonic recklessness, regardless of the human misery it was to cause to millions of people who had not started the war and would never have wished to get involved in fratricidal bloodshed. It was all a monstrous game between the United States and the USSR. Now, the two have made it up and agree that Afghanistan be left to its misery. Both will stop all aid from January 1, 1992. Quite obviously, the Afghan people are on the verge of a very long, cold and wretched winter.

But that is by no means the worst part of the story as it has now begun to unfold. For Pakistan the disquieting message has to be read between the lines. And it is that the United States and the USSR are washing their hands of the Afghan problem. If Pakistan (and by clear implication, also Iran and their Afghan guests) join the superpowers in solving the Afghan problem the way they wish, it is welcome to the table. If not, Pakistan and its clients can go to blazes. There would be a solution without Pakistan & Co. The manner in which the United States is going about its New World Order, and the manner in which the Soviet Union is so pleased to oblige it, the United Nations cannot be expected to be anything but willing to go along as guided by the US-USSR couple. Time and tide, now represented by this formidable combination, would wait for no one in Afghanistan and most surely not for Pakistan and the virtually lost tribe of 3.5 Afghans with their horrifying divisions and animosities which we once played with during dictator Zia's lunatic era. We were feeling great, playing host to so many Afghans because at that time it was bloody good business for all in Zia's court.

So, where do we stand now in the Afghan context as it is shaping for tomorrow? Continue to make a demon of Najib and refuse to talk to anyone in Afghanistan? That he is a thoroughly disagreeable person is beyond doubt. Equally true is the fact that our clients are also an intolerably tiresome lot. And we know it. If we do not act wisely now, the chances are that these warring Afghans

may at some stage in the near future become a hell of a problem for us. When rations and cash cease to flow all they would be left with would be their Kalashnikovs. And if they do not turn towards their own land, where would they turn to. Kalashnikovs in angry hands? An exceedingly fearsome prospect, isn't it? What a terrible Zia legacy! For God's sake do something now and something wise, please.

Libya Said Supporting Kashmir Militants

91AS1557E Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
5 Sep 91 p 8

[News Report: "Libya Supports Kashmiri Struggle for Freedom"]

[Text] Accra (APP)—Mr. Ibrahim Ali al-Bashari, Libya's foreign minister, has expressed full support over the Kashmir issue and the struggle for freedom there. He gave this assurance during his meeting with our foreign secretary, Mr. Shehar Yar Khan, and the Pakistani deputation. At the ministers' conference, Mr. Shehar Yar Khan said that Libya's foreign minister expressed full support for Kashmir's campaign and the Kashmiri stand. The Libyan foreign minister expressed his desire that bilateral cooperation with Pakistan be increased. He added that Pakistan had always wanted bilateral cooperation, and has expressed willingness to announce that it will join a meeting of the Joint Minister's Commission in the near future.

Close Relations With Soviet Republics Urged

91AS1570F Lahore THE NATION in English
8 Sep 91 p 7

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "Pakistan and Central Asia"]

[Text] The momentous changes taking place to Pakistan's North in a vast region that stretches from China's Xinjiang province across Afghanistan and Iran, close to Turkey, have strangely elicited a slow response not just from Pakistan but from other Muslim countries as well. With the virtual demise of the Soviet Union, three of the six pre-dominantly Muslim republics in which over 50 million Muslims live, have declared independence. Azerbaijan, the oil-producing region, took the initiative on August 30, followed by Uzbekistan and Kirgystan on August 31. For the moment, Tajekistan, Turkmenia and Kazakhstan have not made their intentions clear, but it is obvious that the status quo which has changed irreversibly in what was known as the USSR for 74 years has created a new geopolitical factor in the region represented by these six Muslim majority republics.

While Pakistan has no direct border with any of these republics, Kirgystan and Kazakhstan, border the Chinese Muslim majority province of Xinjiang (across which the Karakoram Highway winds down), Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and Tajekistan border Afghanistan and Iran has borders with Azerbaijan and Turkmenia.

Turkey has borders with Georgia and Armenia, but none with any of the Muslim republics, and Azerbaijan is the closest to Turkey geographically.

It is ironical that what Muslims in the region had been dreaming about for decades—the liberation of Muslim republics of the Soviet Union—has happened but the Muslim World, including countries close to the vicinity of Central Asia and the Transcaucusus like Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan and Turkey seem to have been caught unprepared for this eventuality. Of these countries, Pakistan is the only one not to have consciously sought the establishment of close political and economic links with them and not to have invited top leaders of these Muslim republics. While Afghanistan has border trade agreements with its neighbouring Muslim republics, Azerbaijan's Prime Minister Hasan Hasanov visited Iran in June where he made a formal request for Azerbaijan's membership of the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) which groups Iran with Pakistan and Turkey. And during August 20-21, at the time of the abortive coup in Moscow, Azerbaijan's President Ayaz Moutalibov was visiting Iran. And during the middle of June, the President of Tajekistan Kahor Mahkamov visited Turkey.

No such high-level visitor from any of these Muslim majority republics was invited to visit Pakistan. Pakistan's slowness to start in this direction is evident from the fact that even India hosted, only last month, the President of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov, who returned from a state visit to New Delhi after signing two agreements on economic and cultural cooperation. This was the first time that India had established direct links with any Soviet republic.

Pakistan's lethargic response to the historic developments in a part of the world which is so close to its vicinity and which had been cordoned off for almost three quarters of a century, can essentially be attributed to an absence of a Pakistani policy on this issue which stemmed from a couple of traditional Cold War perspectives. First, Pakistan essentially saw the region through Cold War lenses which meant the region was viewed as a route to destabilise Moscow, then the centre of International Communism. That was the American goal till the arrival of Gorbachev. The other aspect of the Pakistani worldview, which was almost entirely Afghan-dominated, saw Central Asia as an extension of the Afghan struggle, and there was little awareness of the qualitative changes that were occurring inside the Muslim republics of the Soviet Union after Gorbachev's policies of perestroika and glasnost.

Hence, it is interesting to note that all the Muslim republics of the Soviet Union have been active in their efforts to preserve a loose Federation, and one reflection of this was the overwhelming vote in all these republics during March 1991 for preservation of the Union. Unlike the Baltic Republics, they realised that they had nobody outside to look for support, an assessment that has been proven correct in the last couple of weeks when even after the formal Declaration of Independence by

three Muslim republics, not one of the 48 Muslim countries have come forward to accord them either diplomatic recognition or to offer them financial or other cooperation.

While Pakistan has basically viewed the recent developments in Moscow, particularly the abortive coup, almost entirely in the light of its impact on the Afghan issue, Iran too has not rushed into recognition of Azerbaijan or the other two Muslim republics which have declared independence. However, Iranian Foreign Minister Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati condemned Boris Yeltsin as an advocate of "Czarism" and the September 2, 1991 issue of TEHRAN TIMES stated that "the Russians should not be allowed to be sole arbiters on issues which pertain to the destiny of the republics, as in that case, there will be no prospect of change and progress in the republics." Even the President of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, who has been close to Yeltsin, accused him of "great power chauvinism." However, on August 30, the Soviet Union's two biggest republics—Kazakhstan and Russia—affirmed "their determination to press for the creation of a new Union structure on the basis of equal rights" and called on all other republics "to join talks about mutual beneficial forms of cooperation. Even non-Muslim republics like Ukraine have expressed concern over "Russian chauvinism."

In order to evolve a clear and realistic Central Asia policy, Pakistan's policy-makers need to have three key elements in mind. First, Pakistan has no direct border or linguistic or ethnic ties with any of these Muslim republics, which Iran, Afghanistan and Turkey do. Therefore, Pakistan's role should be to initially strengthen its Islamic camaraderie and build economic and cultural ties with the Central Asian republics, with political and strategic relations as a natural follow-up. This objective can better be achieved via a regional framework like the ECO, rather than a unilateral, go-it alone policy. It is a positive sign that Pakistan has decided to establish direct air links with Tashkent and also to set up a consulate in the Uzbek republic's capital.

Second, in the context of a Central Asian policy, Pakistan should be cognisant of the sensitivities of its close friends in this regard including China, Iran and Turkey. Given that China borders the Central Asian region of the Soviet Union through Xinjiang, where China has been facing some ethnic and religious unrest, the need of the hour is to allay China's fears and concerns in this regard. It would be tragic if the opening up of Islamic Central Asia would mean a loosening of China's ties with either Pakistan or Iran on this count. As far as Turkey is concerned, Ankara would be seriously concerned at the prospect of an independent Armenian state close to its border which can only revive the historical antagonism between the Turks and the Armenians. Additionally, Turkey might feel that this growing wave of independence might give ideas to its own restive Kurdish minority. Regarding Iran, Pakistan should endeavour to work in concert on Central Asian policy rather than in

competition, similar to the convergence that is evident on Afghanistan in recent months.

Finally, Pakistan should be clear that the route to Central Asia lies through Afghanistan. A peaceful, strife-free Afghanistan is essential to the realisation of any Pakistan foreign policy goal in Central Asia. An additional plus of the emergence of the Muslim republics in the region is that it may help Pakistan in giving up what has now become an increasingly elusive goal, namely, the installation of an "Islamic government" in Kabul. That goal may have been relevant in the context of a Marxist-Leninist Soviet Union, which was hostile to Pakistan and closer to India. Since the original assumption is no longer valid, the subsequent goal—a pro-Pakistani government in Kabul—need no longer be the main impetus of Pakistan's Afghan policy.

After all, Afghanistan's neighbours now will be Iran, Pakistan and the Muslim republics in Central Asia, and since Afghanistan too is landlocked like these Muslim republics, any government in Kabul will be as keen as, say, Uzbekistan, Tajekistan or Turkmenia to seek economic openings to the outside world via Pakistan. Therefore, Kabul will have to rely on Pakistan after losing the long-distance props from Moscow. The sooner Pakistan seeks to politically settle the Afghan issue, the better it will be in the formulation and implementation of a viable Central Asia policy, whose time has finally arrived.

Regional Affairs

Increased Threat From India Seen

91AS1570J Karachi DAWN in English (Supplement)
6 Sep 91 pp II-III

[Article by Ghani Eirabie: "Indian Situation and the Increased Threat"]

[Text] Any fond presumption that the threat to Pakistan came only from the vicious arrogance of the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty or has receded with the defeat or demise of Rajiv or the divisive war of succession that followed each event, is extremely ill-advised. If anything, the peril has increased.

The existing causes of conflict, centred primarily on Kashmir, have been augmented by the more extremist ideology of the Bhartiya Janata Party [BJP] that has succeeded the Congress as the popular rallying force in the Indian bodypolitic. Not only is it committed to "Akhand" Bharat, that is re-absorption of Pakistan and Bangla Desh, but also "Mahabharta", that is Greater India, to be achieved by re-assimilating the Indian Ocean lands that formed party of the mythical Indian Empire.

At home, BJP, is committed even more ardently to the introduction of "Ram Raj", mixture of religious fundamentalism and political fascism, which postulates that either the minorities—Muslims in particular—

unquestioningly accept the Hindu politico-cultural domination or leave the country. The BJP philosophy is epitomised by its agitation for demolition of the Babri mosque and its replacement by a temple; in fact, it has achieved dazzling electoral successes on the promise of Hindu revivalism.

That the promise is increasingly swaying the Indian masses is shown by the fact that over the last two general elections, the Bharatiya Janata Party has increased its strength in Lok Sabha from two through 88 to 120 seats and become the second largest political party in Parliament. Additionally, it has formed governments in five of the Indian states, and it hopes to make more gains in the next polls.

An idea of the anti-Pakistan designs harboured by the party can be gauged from BJP Chief L. K. Advani's interview to a British correspondent, published in THE NATION of May 20, 1990. He was quoted as saying: "We don't want peace (with Pakistan). We just want war...and say with conviction that we are trying for Akhand Bharat." Asked if he would still want war if the Kashmir issue were not there, Advani said: "Kashmir is just an excuse. If it is not there, we will find another one, like Pakistan is helping the Sikhs." Responding to another question, the BJP leader remarked: "You can kill a thousand Kashmiris and no one will even raise an eyebrow... We still maintain we are killing terrorists." Told, "terrorists are a small group, isolated from the general population, while freedom-fighters, though small in number, are backed by the entire population," L. K. Advani responded: "Then we treat the entire population as terrorists and begin killing them."

Potentially a future Prime Minister of India, Advani has been described by correspondent Steve Coll in the WASHINGTON POST of June 5, 1991 in these words: "Lal Krishen Advani's opponents call him a Hindu fascist with genocidal intentions towards India's Muslim minority. Ardent supporters see him as a prophet who will restore a religious (Hindu) kingdom on earth...whatever the truth, he has become the most important politician in India...Doubters remain, because the Bharatiya Janata often seems to have two faces. One is the moderate visage (sic) projected by Advani. The other is visible in riot-torn cities of India's north where BJP workers chant slogans advocating that Muslims be exterminated or deported, then employ guns, knives and gasoline grenades in pitched religious riots that have cost hundreds of lives."

The WASHINGTON POST of January 3, 1991 noted that "Hindu revival is marked by growing violence," and its issue of May 23 said: "the most bloody-minded kind of religious fanaticism has increasingly dominated political life (in India)."

That the virus has begun to infect India's armed forces is shown by two developments:...one, the viciousness...in sharp contrast to the manner they handle militants in Punjab...with which the Indian Security Forces crack

down on Muslim militants in Kashmir, firing into funeral processions, torturing suspects, burning and gang-raping Muslim women; or wantonly participate in the killing of Muslims in U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] and Bihar. And two, the eagerness with which ex-Generals of the Indian Army are swarming into the fold of the Bharatiya Janata Party. More than 38 retired senior civilians and military officers, including two prominent corps commanders, had joined BJP by May 18, 1991.

The grievous impact of growing Hindu extremism on State policies is illustrated by three recent events: One, the fanatical hard-core of the Indian Army top brass made a powerful Prime Minister like Rajiv Gandhi retract his 1989 Islamabad commitment to Benazir Bhutto to pull back from Siachen to the pre-Simla agreement position. Two, even though the Bharatiya Janata Party was not a partner in the Sindh Government, is forced the nomination of Jag Mohan as Governor of Jammu and Kashmir in the teeth of opposition from Kashmir Affairs Minister Mufti Sayeed and state Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah, and notwithstanding Prime Minister V. P. Singh's own moderation, BJP nominee Jag Mohan unleashed a reign of terror in the Valley within 24 hours of taking over as Governor in January 1990. And three, similarly even though Prime Minister Narasimha Rao came in with a commitment to promptly end what his own party Chief Rajiv Gandhi had decried as genocide of Kashmiris, he has found himself helpless in the face of increasing Hindu fanaticism. And despite the Prime Minister's personal commitment to peace, the 1991-92 budget allocation for the armed forces has been significantly increased. Ominously enough, growing religious revivalism is accompanied by escalating militarism.

Bully Psychology

India's ex-Chief of Army Staff, General Krishna Rao, in his book "Prepare or Perish", maintains that India's "approach against Pakistan should be to prepare for a short and swift war. In such a conflict, we should endeavour to recover that portion of Jammu and Kashmir which is under illegal occupation of Pakistan. However, our real aim should be to destroy as much of Pakistan's armed might as possible." He also pleads for more than adequate missiles capability to hit any target in Pakistan. And India's Naval Chief, Admiral Nadekarni, in a lecture has disclosed that Indian military planners see the injection of the nuclear factor as being important in the bilateral Pak-India equation. Provoked by all this sabre-rattling, India's military commentator Ravi Rikhye has identified two strains in Indian thinking. First, that "we are a natural superpower and must take our rightful place in that club;" and two, "the essential psychology of the ruling elite of India is that of the bully."

Interestingly, enough, even in the act of angrily repudiating the charge of being a "regional bully," India's former Minister of State for External Affairs Natwar Singh has unwittingly confirmed it in his January 1,

1990 article in the "MAINSTREAM", threatening a sovereignty-seeking Nepal that since Calcutta port is overcrowded, goods for Nepal would have to be offloaded either at Madras or Bombay; "and that 50 lakh Nepalese in India would lose all their privileges.

Claiming that "India cannot shed its geo-political responsibilities"...ominously reminiscent of the white-man's burden...Natwar Singh has extended the region of "Intense relevance and interest to us" to the entire area from the Pamirs to the Mekong delta, and recalled that before 1947, all SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] countries were controlled or governed from Delhi and London, and until 1937, Burma was a part of the Indian Empire.

Confirming Indian goals, Bombay's "ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL WEEKLY" wrote in its issue of April 7, 1990, that "India may like to stretch its strategic parameters from Mauritius to Fiji and from the Burmese border to Aksai Chin, but its immediate concern is to establish primacy in the (South Asian) region whereby its neighbours should accept that their national security cannot stay apart from but must become complementary to India's. This call for the construction of a regional order in which the ranks of South Asian nations are determined by the nature of their relations with India. This is what we call the Brahmanic framework of power"...clearly implying that India will be enjoying the same superiority over its neighbours as the Brahmin does over other castes in the Hindu social system. An earlier issue of the same paper disclosed that the new regional order planned by India visualises a colonial-style pattern of economy in which an industrialised India will export manufactures and import cheap raw material and cheap labour from its neighbouring countries.

India tried to impose this system on Bangla Desh in 1971 in return for the military assistance that helped tear it off from Pakistan, by shifting East Bengal's jute-manufacturing machinery to Calcutta and grabbing the export of finished jute products to foreign markets. In fact, it was the induction of colonial exploitation that triggered the counter-revolution which overthrew Mujibur Rehman.

Likewise, India has already experimented with the foreign policy component of its neo-imperialism, by imposing on Sri Lanka in 1987 a settlement that subordinated its external relations to New Delhi with the military aspect of it in 1988 when it extended its air and naval cover to the Maldives.

However, instead of learning a lesson from the setbacks they received in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, Indian policymakers apparently feel they have been confirmed in their view that their proposed new politico-economic order cannot succeed until they have eliminated the challenge of Pakistan. While proudly presenting "South Asia: Under an Indian version of the Monroe Doctrine," Indian Editor

Sunanda Datta-Ray ruefully noted in the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE of April 1989, that "Pakistan, in a sense, is the one totally independent country left in the region (along with India)."

Understandingly the totality of India, effort has been directed to bringing Pakistan into line with the rest. The massive armaments it has been piling up and the foreign alliances it has been forging are all designed to accomplish one purpose alone...to reduce Pakistan to the status of a Bhutan, Nepal or Maldives. Encouraged by the super-powers' acceptance of Indian primacy in the region, India has stepped up its efforts to subdue Pakistan.

And now in addition to the nationalist ambition of imposing its hegemony over the region, India is motivated by the historical compulsion of "revenging a thousand years of Hindu slavery," as put by Indira Gandhi after her occupation of East Pakistan, and by the malicious impulse of Hindu fundamentalists to restore the glory that was Mahabharata by re-absorbing Pakistan, Bangla Desh and other Indian Ocean lands from "Suez to Singapore," as summed up by an Indian General in the TIMES OF INDIA of February 27, 1990, and impose Ram Raj over the entire region.

Mosad Said Moving Into Delhi

91AS1501B Karachi JANG in Urdu 1 Aug 91 p 3

[Editorial: "Israeli Intelligence Agency Office in Delhi"]

[Text] According to a news report, Indian, Israeli, and Afghanistani intelligence agencies have increased cooperation to form plans to target nuclear installations in Pakistan. In this context, MOSAD, the Israeli intelligence agency, has opened its office in New Delhi. It was also learned that the Israeli intelligence agency is helping Indian security forces to sabotage the Kashmiri freedom fighters' efforts by teaching them the strategies used in crushing the Palestine independence movement in Israel. The Israeli agents have visited Kandhar, Ghazni, and other cities to help the puppet Afghan government stop the activities of the Afghan Mujahiddin. We were also informed that Israeli commandos were practicing commando exercises in a south Indian state. It was also learned that some important nations have assured Israeli and Indian intelligence agencies of full cooperation for action against Pakistan's atomic program. The presence of Israeli commandos in Kashmir indicates that Israeli agents want to target Pakistani installations from a nearby range and are studying our communication system. It is not difficult to conclude from these developments that all enemy nations have joined to destroy Pakistan's nuclear installations. We can gain a good understanding of the professional skills of Israeli intelligence agencies from its sudden attack on the Iraqi atomic reactor, the Ettenbe operation in Uganda, and the quick extraction of Jews in the middle of Ethiopian civil war. Our intelligence agencies and the Air Force should be alert and ready so that the enemy does not succeed in its despicable goals.

Commentaries Urge Aid to Kashmiri Militants**Government Seen Too Passive***91AS1390A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 29 Jul 91 p 4*

[News Report: "Leaving Kashmiri Mujadeddin Helpless Not Fair"]

[Text] Hyderabad (JASARAT Correspondent)—Maulana Abdulistar Khan Niazi, former federal minister and member of the National Assembly, said that it does not behoove our government just to give a verbal promise for political and moral support for the Kashmiri freedom fighters after seeing the situation there. The previous governments also had made similar declarations and the situation that has resulted is now before us. He expressed these views at the International Kashmir Conference held at the Community Center in Islamabad under the auspices of Anjuman Tulba-i Islam. According to a press release, Maulana Niazi said that the Kashmiri freedom fighters have staked their lives to do their duty and it would be extremely cruel to leave them alone in such a situation. He wondered what had happened to our feelings for freedom. We are worried whether India will attack or not. He said that we must fight back if India attacks. He also said that it was regrettable that this issue could not be resolved despite the resolutions passed by the United Nations. The United States wants to destroy the whole world with its slogan of the "new world order." He demanded that Pakistan open this issue again in the Security Council immediately. The same way that the Security Council was transformed into a war council to teach a lesson to the aggressor, India and Israel should be punished if they refuse to obey these resolutions. At this conference, Haji Mohammed Nawaz Khokhar, special guest and deputy speaker of the National Assembly, said that Pakistani Government's stand on the Gulf crisis had proved to be right and by the grace of God it will prove to be right over the Kashmir issue also. He said that this problem could not be solved with emotionalism. The government of Pakistan will provide all possible political and moral support for the Kashmiri freedom fighters.

Government Action Demanded*91AS1390B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu
29 Jul 91 pp 1,8*

[News Report: "U.S. Allegedly Wants To Separate Kashmir and Sindh—Maulana Noorani"]

[Text] Lahore (JASARAT Correspondent)—Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, president of Jamiat-i Ulema-i Pakistan (Noorani Group), said that it was necessary to explain the Kashmir issue to the Islamic world. He said that the innocent women and children of Kashmir freedom fighters were shedding blood and our government was totally ignoring it. If Pakistan's people also become apathetic, 800 million Hindus will destroy the 8 million Kashmiris. He was addressing the Kashmir Conference at the Jinnah Hall in Lahore called by Jamiat-i Ulema-i Pakistan. He said that Kashmir was not fighting

the war for its freedom, but to protect Pakistan's existence. He revealed that the United States wanted to help Kashmir and Sindh secede from Pakistan in order to decrease Pakistan's importance in south Asia. He said that he did not want a Washington-controlled government, but an independent government controlled by Medina and other holy places. Pakistan has committed the worst mistake in history by interfering in Azad Kashmir elections. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan said in his address at the conference that Pakistan's defense and economy depended on Kashmir. The Kashmiri freedom fighters have revitalized the Kashmir issue again by their never ending sacrifices. If Pakistan's government did not take it seriously, its own defense and economy would be adversely affected in the future. Air Marshal Asghar Khan (Ret.), president of Tehriq-i Istiqlal, said that Pakistan should not interfere in Kashmir's internal affairs. The Muslims in the occupied Kashmir have made the Indian army miserable, however, our own foreign policy was hurting the freedom fighters. Amir Maulana Ajmal Khan, leader of Jamiat-i Ulema-i Islam, said that the Muslims have given up the practice of jihad and this is making India very self-confident. Hamid Sarfraz said in his speech that those who got power in the name of Islam are not doing anything for Kashmir now. The conference was also addressed by People's Party leader Sheikh Rafiq Malik Qasim, Mr. Ahmed Sayyed Kirmani, and Shah Faridul Haq. Some resolutions were passed in the conference demanding investigation of corrupt actions in the Azad Kashmir elections.

Sharif Avoiding Issue*91AS1390C Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu
26 Jul 91 p 5*

[Editorial: "New Priorities of the Prime Minister"]

[Text] Mian Nawaz Sharif's recent speech to the nation clearly shows that the priorities of his government have changed. He wants to give his full attention to making the lives and property of the citizens of this God-given nation safe. His firm devotion to this goal is clear by his statement that he was going to ask for an amendment to the constitution in order to get special power to crush the elements responsible for destroying law and order. He was pointing to Article 245 of the Constitution, which allows special authority to the armed forces when law and order is threatened. The proposed amendment will allow this authority to the civilian government also. We believe that our government's getting such authority under the present situation is important at this time and we fully support this decision. In our opinion, whatever the critics of the present government have said against this decision is baseless.

The self-confidence and determination the prime minister demonstrated in his decision to continue with his program have depressed the groups that want some untimely changes in the nation. This will also help in foiling the efforts of people who were trying to make our democracy and democratic government the prey of

anarchy and who have been spreading all kinds of rumors for some time. We agree wholly with the prime minister that there is no room for a nondemocratic form of government in the nation. We always believed that a democratic government should have the opportunity to work according to its election manifesto during its term. The present government also has the same right because it won elections by popular support, and the people have not demonstrated any lack of faith in it.

We also welcome and agree with the prime minister's announcement that he will not hesitate to cooperate with the opposition in order to establish law and order and protect the lives and property of our citizens. He said that he himself will go to the opposition. We believe that nothing is wrong in trying to get cooperation by following one's principles. Such efforts will help solve many problems. We cannot deny that the internal strife within the country and hostile atmosphere outside the country call for national unity and an agreement on philosophy and action. It would be correct to say that in view of the increasing danger of Indian aggression, the whole nation needs to be united and no groups or political parties should be allowed to undermine the achievement of this goal. The prime minister has demonstrated his solid belief by expressing his desire to get the opposition's cooperation. We expect that this "solid step" will be answered with another "solid step."

We believe that while the prime minister has made progress in attaining unity at a national level, he should also try to get the Islamic world in confidence over the Kashmir issue. The people have felt the absence of discussion on Kashmir in his broadcasted speech. They are upset by the massacre of Kashmiri Muslims. It is important that in view of the brutal activities of the Indian army against the Kashmiris that Pakistan immediately call for a conference of Islamic leaders. In our opinion, the prime minister should take a personal interest in this issue and arrange for getting the leaders of all Islamic countries in one place and try to get their support for Pakistan's stand on Kashmir and Kashmiri freedom fighters.

U.S. Will Back Militants

91ASI390D Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu
22 Jul 91 p 10

[Editorial: "Kashmir's Annexation With Pakistan"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has sent a message to the Pakistani people on the "Accession Day" that Kashmir has become a center of world attention because of unprecedented sacrifices of Kashmiri freedom fighters. The Islamic world has also started to become aware of the problems of the Kashmiri people. The intensity of the Kashmiri freedom fighters' struggle has been increasing as much as the atrocities of Indian soldiers. The prime minister asked the United Nations and the international community to use their influence to resolve the Kashmir issue according to the resolutions

passed in the United Nations. All neutral nations in the world agree with the prime minister that the present phase is the right one for annexing Kashmir to Pakistan. No one can deny the fact that nations that write their history with blood cannot be enslaved. The prime minister has given wise advice to India to resolve the Kashmir issue with talks.

In our opinion, the United Nations has been reminded of its duties on the Kashmir issue. It is a fact that the dispute over Kashmir has been recorded at the United Nations, and it has already made a fair and just decision over it. This decision was accepted by both India and Pakistan. Pakistan has never denied these U.N. resolutions and still insists on implementing these resolutions, asking for a referendum for the Kashmiri people so that they can decide on their government. However, India, which took the Kashmir issue to the United Nations, and had agreed to the resolution for having a referendum in Kashmir, is forcibly occupying Kashmir. It is refusing to hold a referendum using various excuses. Two wars were fought between India and Pakistan over Kashmir, and the Simla Agreement was also signed. Both parties had accepted Kashmir's position in this agreement, and had expressed a desire to resolve this issue with talks. However, India never had serious talks with Pakistan to find a peaceful solution of Kashmir's problem.

The new generation of Kashmiris has risen against India's continued stubborn tactics, and extended control over Kashmir. Their brave efforts have got the attention of the whole world. The world has changed a lot now. The cold war between the United States of America and the Soviet Union has ended. India had succeeded in making the Kashmir issue ineffective in the United Nations by using the cold war as a tactic and getting the Soviet veto in its favor. Now that there is peace between the two superpowers, all minor squabbles and disagreements can be resolved in the United Nations more effectively. The United Nations played a key role in the Afghanistan issue, and the Soviet Union had to recall its armed forces after the Geneva talks. The world's most destructive war was fought in the Gulf after Iraq took over Kuwait. The United Nations took very strict action and took a very inflexible stand in the Gulf war. After the UN role in the Gulf, the Palestinians and the Kashmiri freedom fighters expect it to help them to gain their right to freedom as it helped the Kuwaiti citizens to gain freedom from Iraqi occupation.

Against this changed international background, the United Nations should play a similar role in solving the Kashmir issue as it did in various other international disputes. It should help the Kashmiris gain their independence according to the resolution passed by the United Nations. The world, and the Islamic world in particular, should play an important role in helping Kashmir rid itself of Indian atrocities. India should also understand that if it ignores the U.N. resolution, no superpower will come to its aid. It cannot control the Kashmiris indefinitely with its armed forces.

Before the Kashmiri problem gets out of control, wise advice for India would be that instead of wasting its military forces in Kashmir, it should express a willingness to hold talks to resolve this dispute. It should be ready to agree on the resolutions passed in the United Nations. The fact that Kashmiri freedom fighters have brought the Kashmir issue to international attention by sacrificing their lives, and made Robert Dole, leader of the Republican party in the U.S. Senate and former presidential candidate, to meet with the deputation of chosen leaders of Azad Kashmir is noteworthy. He told the deputation that the United States would do its duty and help the Kashmiris get their rightful independence. He said that he was aware of all the facts related to Kashmir, and that he would try his best to pressure India to solve this problem. He also said that he would try his best to get the bill against India passed in the Senate. This bill asks the United States to stop all aid to India until President Bush issues a certificate declaring that India was not making atomic bombs. Another bill calls for stopping aid to India until it can guarantee the reinstatement of human rights in Kashmir and East Punjab. The U.S. senator expressed concern over the Indian atrocities being committed against the people of Kashmir. He declared that incidents such as targeting of unarmed Kashmiris with cannons, raping women, and torture in jails and torcher cells was inhuman. This deputation also met Senator Rockefeller, another powerful U.S. senator. He also assured them that he would support the struggle of the Kashmiri people.

Internal Affairs

Dynamics of 'Foreign Policy' Viewed

91AS1576G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
17 Sep 91 p 7

[Article by Ishtiaq Ahmad: "Imperatives of a Foreign-Policy Review"]

[Text] The countrymen are being told that the Foreign Office is hectically busy in reshaping Pakistan's foreign policy in the wake of the changes taking place around the world, particularly in the Soviet Union. Notwithstanding the fact that the Soviet Union of today is at the verge of disintegration, and that the spirit of the East-West detente has been prevailing since the mid-eighties; the country's decision-making with regard to its external affairs still reflects some of the legacies of the Cold War years.

As the new Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Siddique Khan Kanjo, takes over in the Foreign Office, all he has to strive for is to make Pakistan's foreign relations compatible with the fast changing international environment. The country he will be representing in the days to come—though not as a full-fledged Foreign Minister—has lost its strategic importance due to the US military presence in the Persian Gulf. Pakistan is no more a strategic outlet to that region as it used to be.

Elsewhere in the world, numerous events are occurring at an unpredictable pace, rendering the process of foreign policy making quite difficult. Centrifugal forces are engulfing the Balkans, which would have serious repercussions for the whole of Europe if not checked well in time by the EEC. The social, political and economic chaos that is prevailing in East European countries—since the overthrow of the communist regimes there in 1989—is worsening with the passage of time.

The Soviet Union is passing through the Yugoslav experience at a much larger scale. The Muslim countries in the neighbourhood of the Soviet Central Asia will have to devise new strategies for the type of relationship they would maintain with the six Muslim republics there if all of them disentangle from the Union.

Quid Pro Quo

And if the Soviet leadership turns more Western in the near future, there is a strong likelihood of a US-Soviet quid pro quo over issues vital to Pakistan's national interest, that is, the peace settlement in Afghanistan and the Middle East. Despite breakthroughs on the question made during the tripartite talks held recently in Tehran and the Baker-Pankin agreement on negative symmetry, Najubullah's rule still remains the main impediment to the peace process in Afghanistan. Nevertheless, any further US-Soviet consensus over the Afghan issue would certainly mean the exit of Najibullah from power, since the United States still objects to the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] (now Watan Party) regime in Kabul.

As regards the October peace conference on the Middle East, despite many peace overtures by the parties (minus Israel) concerned with the dispute, Mr Shamir is sticking to his guns. Any representation of the PLO in the conference is still unacceptable to him. Even the United States has failed to compel Israel to halt Jewish settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories and Golan Heights. Gorbachev's special envoy to the Middle East, Mr Primakov, has been in Tel Aviv for the last few days. His visit there is being followed by that of US Secretary of State James Baker. The following few weeks are crucial for Middle East diplomacy, as developments and understandings which will come about during the period preceding the October conference, would decide the fate of the Palestine problem.

The Zionist entity does not so far seem to be inclined towards ceding occupied territories to the Palestinians. Given the strength of the Jewish lobby in the United States and the enormous influence it exercises over US political institutions, there should be no doubt about the fact that any settlement to the Middle East problem which is sought by the United States, would favour the Jews at the expense of the interests of Palestinians; and, therefore, of the Muslims, including those in Pakistan.

India

The regional strategic environment is always of paramount importance to a nation-State's security and integrity. Even if there are headways made towards a negotiated settlement to the Afghan conflict, India would remain a primary threat to Pakistan, given the continued uprising in held Kashmir, the former's military edge (particularly in the nuclear and naval capabilities) over the latter and its reluctance to resolve bilateral disputes at the secretary-level talks between the two countries—the fourth round of the talk due for this month has now been postponed—and due to off and on military skirmishes between them along the Control Line.

The application of the Pressler Amendment to India has not hurt that country's interests as much as it has harmed those of Pakistan, because India is not dependent on US aid to the extent Pakistan is, and also, unlike Pakistan, the Amendment freezes India's existing nuclear capability in case it decides to comply with the terms of the Amendment. However, after the Chinese decision to sign the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty], there are indications that, apart from pressurising Pakistan, the United States would also force India to follow suit and conclude the Treaty. That the US Under-Secretary of State for International Security Affairs, Mr Bartholomew—whose visit has now been postponed—was to land in India after visiting Pakistan, might have been the first US venture in this respect.

Pakistan's relations with China are as sound as they were ever before. However, what should be a cause for concern for the country's foreign policy making elite is that, with the passage of time, China is also getting closer to the West by disregarding the latter's response to the Tiananmen Square's happenings. The United States has granted China the Most Favoured Nation status. John Major, during his visit to Beijing, has also concluded economic and trade agreements with China and, most importantly, the Chinese decision to sign the NPT sounds a death-knell for its renowned status as a leading exponent of the Third World. And even if, at present, China still remains cautious of Western designs, its foreign policy may be guided by the winds of change across the world under which one country after the other is accepting US monopoly over world affairs. Under these circumstances, the question arises: Would Pakistan be able to rely on China—its most trusted ally—for military, economic and moral support, and cooperation in the nuclear field?

Muslim Countries

That would leave us to rely more and more on the Muslim countries for military and economic cooperation. Since Turkey is a member of NATO and looks towards the EEC instead of fostering economic ties with the neighbouring Muslim countries, to expect it to become part and parcel of a regional strategic consensus would be unrealistic.

With the US physical presence in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia and other oil-rich States of the Gulf are completely under American influence. Saudis and Kuwaitis still owe \$7.5 billion to the United States for its destruction of Iraq—the latter has been reduced to a status of post-World War-I Germany having no role to play in the world, let alone in the Muslim World. Hafiz Al-Assad of Syria, after consolidating Syrian hegemony in Lebanon with US help, is ready to play the 'Sadat role' in another Camp David type of arrangement in the Middle East at the October peace conference.

The rest of the Muslim countries in the Middle East, Africa and Asia—except Iran—are mostly busy looking after their internal problems, civil and military strife being a factor in majority of the cases. The only Muslim country that suits Pakistan's external concerns is Iran for its being the only Muslim State in the region which—without any domestic compulsions, such as those which prevailed in Jordan, particularly during the war—has steered an independent course during and after the Gulf War.

There is no denying the truth that pragmatism is gradually emerging as an important theme of Pakistan's external dealings. President Ishaq's visit to Tehran and his call there for a new international Islamic order are steps in the right direction, since Pakistan's security at present can find solace only in the regional context. Rationality demands that the Foreign Office be more quick in perceiving the day-to-day happenings in world affairs. However, what is more important is that the lessons drawn after carefully perceiving a particular event must correspond with the country's national interest.

Mr Ishaq's visit has no doubt strengthened both countries' commonality of understanding on regional and international issues, besides leading to the conclusion of some important agreements on economic cooperation. An additional step in this context should be the signing of a defence pact between the two countries, since the threat to Pakistan's national integrity has [as published] aggravated with the news about enhanced military collaboration between Washington and New Delhi.

Leadership Urged To 'Look Beyond Partisan Needs'

92AS0005A Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
12 Sep 91 p 6

[Article: "Political Cesspool"]

[Text] Seemingly, the cesspool created by more than a decade of political degradation, suspension and later perversion of the Constitution, long years of harsh repression, and apolitical elections that created a cash nexus with vote-gathering, has not been drained by two quick general elections. In the 1990 polls, the sons and heirs of rulers for whom democracy was anathema succeeded in using the moderated, controlled electoral

system to capture power. Since the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance]—a conglomerate of disparate political parties—was inducted into office at the Centre and in all provinces, it has been trying to consolidate its position by every means possible, which includes attempts to browbeat or bribe legislators belonging to the main Opposition party and a balancing act to keep its partners from kicking over their traces.

After their allegations of massive electoral rigging had begun to subside, an earnest effort was made by the Opposition leaders to bury the past and agree on a *modus vivendi* with the ruling coalition through mutual acceptance of a democratic code of conduct. The bid to normalise political functioning did not bear fruit, mainly because the IJI's weak position in Sindh did not allow it to accept a compromise that would prevent Jam Sadiq Ali from misusing his powers to decimate the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and bar the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] from taking the law into its own hands to deal with dissidents inside the party or its local rivals, the Jamaat-i-Islami. Failure of the negotiations has left a trail of bitterness and created an atmosphere of confrontation. The people are hapless witnesses to the daily exchange of harsh polemics and the repetition of verbose platitudes that are supposed to furnish evidence of the author's undying patriotism.

Understandably, in these circumstances, the Opposition has made full use of every scandal that has hit the ruling party. First came Government's inability or refusal to carry out its programme of disarmament in Pakistan's towns and villages without which its promise of restoring peace can never be met. Its grandiose plan flopped because its own supporters were not interested in its success. The strange, still unexplained, matter of special arms licences being issued in Sindh has further damaged Government's credibility. Then, the ruling party has had to face the Cooperatives' mess, where billions of rupees deposited by the people in good faith are at risk because the owners and managers of these institutions, mostly influential IJI dignitaries, have made improper use of vast funds and now seem to be in no position to pay back. The Opposition leaders' campaign has alerted Government into using all its influence to overcome the crisis, but even if some companies owned by senior Ministers have paid back their loans, a great deal of money seems to have gone down the drain and will never be recovered.

However these important matters are handled, while the squabbling between politicians continues to intensify, little attention is paid to a host of other problems that have to be tackled urgently if Pakistan's multiple crises are to be resolved. Priority needs to be given to the Afghan situation, with its continuing overflow of drugs and arms, the tensions on the Line of Control, and the country's frightening economic ailments whose cure is imperative. These problems can be dealt with only if the national leadership can look beyond today's partisan needs and begins to think in terms of how the country

can be saved from mounting chaos, so that the people's requirements can be met before their super-human patience begins to run out.

Requirements of Foreign Minister Viewed

91AS1570E Lahore *THE NATION* in English
1 Sep 91 p 6

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "Foreign Office and Foreign Policy"]

[Text] In recent months, the Foreign Office has been taking initiatives in foreign policy with renewed vigour, resulting in some success as well. Diplomatic footwork has been combined with timely steps which are pointers to an agility in foreign policy that is needed by Pakistan to keep pace with the qualitatively altered geopolitical international environment.

A revitalised Foreign Office has now been able to provide direction in key areas of foreign policy, whose positive fallout is evident. These areas include:

- Internationalisation of the Kashmir issue with the Islamic Foreign Ministers meet at Istanbul in early August becoming the first international forum to condemn India's violation of human rights of the Kashmiris and to support their right of self-determination. This resolution of the Islamic Foreign Ministers was carried unanimously;
- The initiative to launch a tripartite dialogue on Afghanistan, with Iran on board, providing an impetus to a long-needed regional-based approach on Afghanistan. Additionally, for the first time the Foreign Office and the Inter Services Intelligence are acting in concert on Afghanistan, with a change in the role of the Foreign Office, from being merely a spokesman in the past to now being a substantive initiator and implementor of policy;
- The institutionalisation of the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO), which groups Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, with an application for membership from Azerbaijan pending, the first ECO Summit in the offing later this year in November and the probability of Afghanistan and Uzbekistan joining in the not-distant future.

Some major changes have forced a change both in the working of the Foreign Office and influenced the direction of foreign policy. For the greater part of its functioning, the Foreign Office has suffered from dualism since its role has been marginalised in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, for instance, was virtually his own Foreign Minister and General Ziaul too, particularly after the exit of Agha Shahi, also acted basically as his own Foreign Minister, although he relied a great deal on General Akhtar Abdur Rehman on Afghanistan and Iran, and on General K. M. Arif for India and the United States. Mr. Junejo had appointed Zain Noorani as his nominee in the Foreign Office to displace General Zia's Foreign Minister, Sahabzada Yaqub Khan. Benazir

Bhutto had three and a half Foreign Ministers, all of whom were running in a different direction. Such dualism in the Foreign Office is no longer there.

The other important change that is influencing the formulation of foreign policy in Pakistan today is that foreign policy now is very much a live political issue at home, no more confined to bureaucratic cocoons of the Foreign Office bureaucracy in an isolated or exclusivist manner. Since the 80s, courtesy Afghanistan, foreign policy became a major domestic issue and by extension, the American connection, which was then seen as being central to General Zia's sustenance in office, became a key element of national politics: to retain office, to seek office or to attack incumbents in office. This required a foreign policy and a Foreign Office that could be responsive to domestic needs. However, the Foreign Office seemed to be out of step with the changing times and it could not adapt as fast as it was necessary to the demands of the rapidly changing world.

The Gulf War was the first evidence of this failure when it became a major domestic political issue and the Foreign Office was caught off-guard. The predictable result was that Pakistan's durable Foreign Minister became a casualty and Akram Zaki was inducted as Secretary-General, a sort of halfway house between a status quo that was no longer tenable and the need for a fresh face at the helm of the Foreign Office. Akram, Zaki, a homegrown Foreign Office professional in the distinguished tradition of Agha Shahi, combines skills of a diplomat with political instincts that are vital to the conduct of foreign policy in these times. The Foreign Office in Pakistan, despite elitism bordering on contempt for its own people and a preponderant infatuation with policies American, nevertheless has produced professionals who can compete with the best that the outside world offers. Some like former Foreign Secretaries Abdul Sattar and Tanvir Ahmad Khan (currently the Information Secretary another good choice of the Prime Minister in terms of personnel) have undoubtedly been eloquent exponents of a homespun foreign policy.

In the context of the new demands on the Foreign Office and Pakistan's foreign policy as well, a related question is the job-description for the foreign Minister, a slot that is still to be filled. Three requirements for a Foreign Minister or perhaps an Adviser on Foreign Affairs with Cabinet rank would be important in the current context. First, the issue is not, as often erroneously assumed, of a "political" Foreign Minister which is generally understood as picking some Senator or MNA [Member of National Assembly] for the slot, but to have a "politically correct" Foreign Minister. Essentially this means a person with a made-in-Pakistan worldview, a nationalist who can relate to Pakistan's national interest and have the ability to develop a rapport with Pakistanis with ease. Foreign Minister Agha Shahi, for instance, although a Foreign Office professional, was both "political" and "politically correct" during his tenure and the command performance that he gave in Lahore in July 1981 when he addressed an open audience regarding

revival of the American connection with confidence and competence would probably be unmatched by any other Foreign Minister save for Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

The second qualification for the Foreign Minister is, of course, a level of professional competence. This should translate into an understanding and comprehension of foreign affairs, of developments in what is a rapidly changing world. Obviously, this does not mean just fleeting acquaintance with foreign affairs that is limited to regular reading of TIME and NEWSWEEK, dining with Western Ambassadors or knowing which wine to have with which meal! Today's Foreign Minister of Pakistan should be equally at ease talking of foreign policy to members of Pakistan's Parliament, American Congressmen, African diplomats, Muslim politicians or, for that matter members, say, of the Larkana Press Club or the Gujranwala District Bar Association.

The third qualification of Pakistan's Foreign Minister should be that he enjoys the full confidence of both the President and the Prime Minister. Foreign policy requires national consensus and support from both pillars of the political system is vital in this regard. The experience of Junejo and Benazir Bhutto shows that both, in some measure, had their falling out with their respective President due to differences on foreign policy as well. In both cases the President and the prime Minister, respectively ended up having separate Foreign Ministers, who were seen to pursue different foreign policy agendas as well. Such a situation should not be allowed to recur.

The Foreign Office like Intelligence, Defence and Information is no ordinary department of the government. It requires specialised handling and the role of Foreign Minister is not merely to read out answers to questions in the Parliament. Today the Foreign Office has to be led by someone who has the ability to deliver by providing direction to foreign policy, whose broad contours seem to be emerging in the last few months.

Muslims Urged To Oppose 'New World Order'

Muslim Countries Weakened

91ASI499A Karachi AMN in Urdu 9 Aug 91 p 2

[Column by Jumma Khan: "Pakistan's Place in the New U.S. World Order"]

[Text] The United States raised the slogan "new world order" after the war with Iraq. Then it paid some attention to rebuilding, followed by an effort to resolve the Lebanon issue. Now it is trying to have an Arab-Israeli agreement to resolve the Palestine issue and give the Arab countries the occupied areas. Those interested in international politics know that various parties have been contacted for resolving the Afghan issue. Nothing is being done about the situation in Kashmir at present. However, the fact is that some quiet diplomacy is being used in this area, and pressure is being applied from various angles. The problem of military bases in the

Philippines has been taken care of, and a flexible policy has been adopted toward Korea. The attention of the United States is also focused on Cambodia. All this shows that the U. S. State Department is extremely busy these days.

President George Bush is trying to resolve all major problems before the next presidential election to insure his easy re-election. He is also facing some medical problems; however, he feels his health is good enough for another term. If his health does not permit, it is possible that his party will elect another leader as their presidential candidate. President Bush wants his party to remain in power because of his extremely rare victories in foreign policy. With this goal in mind, he is trying to tackle major issues around the world.

Some politicians in our country think that the United States has no consideration for Pakistan in its "new world order." Pakistan is not expected to get any more aid from the United States. If these politicians would keep the geopolitical situation in mind, they would never say such ridiculous things.

Pakistan is very important from a geographical perspective. Its borders meet the two most populous countries of the world—China and India. Pakistan's border also meets Iran, with which the United States has yet to form normal relations. The United States has satisfactory relations with almost all Arab countries, and the former Arab allies of the United States are not in danger of aggression from another Arab country, as a result of the war with Iraq. Arab countries have begun to consider Iran as a major military and economic power. Iran maintained good relations even during the regimes of the shahs. It had maintained its efforts even after the Islamic revolution to avoid war with any country. However, when Iraq attacked it, it left marks of bravery in history. Many major changes occurred in Iran after this war, and the situation totally changed after Iraq's defeat by the allied forces. Now no Arab nation can threaten Iran. However, the government of Iran has very wisely followed a peaceful foreign policy. Iran could have started a war against other Arab countries and taken advantage of their weakness. However, it chose not to follow this path, and improved its relations with all neighboring countries, especially Saudi Arabia. Iran will emerge as a major economic and military power, but no Arab or Islamic country will have cause to worry. The Iranian government is following a peaceful policy according to Islamic teachings. The United States is not unaware of Iran's capabilities, and is not ignoring it. Therefore it cannot ignore Pakistan within the framework of its "new world order." It is, however, taking full advantage of Pakistan's political situation and is pressuring it according to its needs. Were there political stability in Pakistan and were the political leaders cooperatively implementing a democratic rule, then the superpowers would have been more active in resolving the Kashmir issue. They would also have taken steps to improve Pakistan's economy. In our country, political confrontations continue in spite of the election, and this does not

allow the elected government to implement its election goals. All major opponents have said that a lot of cheating occurred during the last two elections, which were held on party basis. They did not accept the elections held by General Zia. They continued their effort to establish democracy on the basis of allegations that those elections did not allow party participation.

Opposition to Infidels Urged

91AS1499B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
4 Aug 91 p 11

[Article by Mazmal Hasan: 'United States, the Leader of Infidels']

[Text] A lot has been written about the United States of America. Its true face has been shown to us by our intellectuals. As Muslims, it is important for us to inform the Islamic world that the United States has always supported the nations that have stabbed Islam in the back. It has helped Islamic rulers who were not Muslims in practice, but were presented as Muslims with the help of the media, because at this time, the communications media of the world is controlled by the United States and its associates.

The United States, which is the sole player in the game of international politics, is dreaming of world control. It would be premature to decide whether this dream will be realized or not. However, seeing the situation the Islamic world is in, we can say that the United States is supporting all the non-Islamic powers of the world.

The Islamic world is occupied with nationality, race, and imperial designs. The United States knows of these weaknesses and is taking advantage of the internal strife among the Muslims. Whenever Muslims think about unity, it hinders their efforts and makes unity impossible. Many examples of this tendency can be given. For example, when the Islamic Leaders Conference was held in Pakistan, the Islamic world was moving toward unity. At that time, the United States had Shah Faisal assassinated by his nephew and silenced Libya by attacking it. Everybody knows what the United States did against Iran. The United States recognized Egyptian military power and pressured it to sign an agreement with Israel at Camp David. This way, the United States cut Egypt off from the Islamic world.

Thus, when it neutralized the Muslims by having them fight among themselves, it looked for pawns that were enemies of Islam and were faithful to the United States. It began to implement this plan slowly, and helped Israel. It made Israel strong and provided it with opportunities to put pressure on Arab nations which are, of course, Muslim nations. This series of events continued. Sometimes it had Egypt fight Israel to weaken the former. It later weakened Syria by having Israel fight with it. It had made the lives of Palestinian freedom fighters miserable, and had Israeli soldiers massacre them. They were forced to live in tents and eat dogs and cats. The United States also used its pawn to crush the PLO fighters in Jordan.

The way it massacred the Palestinians is still remembered sorrowfully even today. It had Yasser Arafat's associate, Abu Jihad, murdered in Tunis and armed the Christian minority in Lebanon against the Muslims there. Later Israelis and the Christian militia drowned the Muslims in fire and blood. Thus the United States encouraged Israel, and whenever resolutions against Israeli atrocities were introduced in the United Nations, the United States vetoed them.

While the United States helped Israel grow strong in the Middle East, it made India powerful in South Asia. During the decade of the 1960's, Pakistan had participated in the Baghdad Pact, according to which the United States was bound to help Pakistan if it were attacked by another nation. All countries in the Baghdad Pact were to help if any of the member nations were attacked by another country. However, this did not happen. The United States helped India during the 1965 Pakistan-India War, and ignored Pakistan totally.

The plan to have Pakistan defeated in 1971 was made in advance. The United States and Israel cooperated in helping the Hindus, and had East Pakistan separated. The United States never expressed any concern about India blasting an atomic bomb, or at its nuclear program. However, it views Pakistan's peaceful nuclear program with suspicion. The feelings of the U. S. are numb towards the atrocities being committed in Kashmir. It has not done anything for the oppressed there. The great supporter of human rights is silent. Removing Rajiv Gandhi in order to establish a government of its own liking was an American conspiracy. The United States likes to choose its own foreign governments. Rajiv Gandhi was a symbol of Indian unity, and now the United States is in the position of strengthening India while moving it according to its orders. Later, it will establish its supremacy in this region by using the largest country, India. It wants to keep the Muslim countries of this region under surveillance, and does not want an Islamic country in this region to form its own government according to Islamic principles. The U. S. ambassador, Robert Oakley, congratulated Pakistan when the Shari'a Bill was passed. However, it was clear that they were unhappy about it, since U. S. diplomats were visiting Raboh, the city of Qadianis.

In view of the above stated facts, we can see the U. S. strategy and decide what kind of role we should play. The United States understands that everyone in the world knows of its conspiracies after the walls of communism fell. Once again, after the failure of the Islamic form of government, the people are determined to try again. The United States is worried about such efforts. It announced its plans for a "new world order," and has analyzed the spread of Islam very closely and is pressuring every friendly nation that is militarily and economically strong. Such countries can pose a danger for it. In some countries, the United States has establishing rulers of its choice, and is controlling those countries through them.

The hatred felt towards the United States after the Gulf war has affected the U. S. empire. Now the United States has focused all its energy on Islamic movements. We can give some examples of these efforts. The Islamic movement was growing very effectively in Kuwait. It had established welfare agencies for persecuted Muslims worldwide. The young people there were following Islamic principles. The United States, in order to vacate Kuwait, controlled the whole region indirectly. Now it is trying to crush the popular movement in Iraq and is trying to establish a nation called Kurdistan in this area as its puppet. It will use this country to control both Iraq and Iran. The military is being used to crush the Islamic salvation movement in Algiers. When it saw the Muslim movement rising in Jordan, it called for a monarchy there.

We still have time to expose the wicked face and goals of the United States to our people. In order to encourage Islamic alliance, we should push the various rulers toward independent and liberal foreign policy which helps the people. If we are not alert, then Israel which is like a dagger in the back of Islam, will force us to become its slave. The United States has created the atmosphere that will force all Islamic nations to recognize Israel. It appears that a majority of Islamic countries have already agreed to do so.

If this happens, then it will be able to drive the last nail in the coffin of Islam. In order to crush the Palestinian liberation movement, notorious Jewish diplomat Henry Kissinger had suggested to Jews that they destroy this movement. Now the Israelis have been committing atrocities against these innocent people who are fighting back, using rocks, to remain alive, and Israel failed to control them with all its military might.

All Islamic countries should cooperate and work jointly. In order to protect their existence, they should work to make the United States conspiracy unsuccessful. If not, then we will be forced to become slaves to the Christians, Hindus, and Jews. Therefore, in order to have peace in the world, the Islamic world has to become active. The Koran said, "do not be friends with the Jews and Christians." We must obey this order of the Holy Koran.

"Cling to the rope of Allah strongly and do not fight among yourselves."

Muslim News Network Needed

91AS1499C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 8 Aug 91 p 2
[News Report: "Islamic Countries Should Oppose CNN"]

[Text] Karachi (Staff Reporter)—The Islami Jaiat-i Talibat of Karachi has appealed to Islami Sarbarah Conference that in order to counter the anti-Islamic propaganda it should establish a Muslim Network News (MNN) immediately. This network should not only present high standard news programs but also counter the foreign network propaganda. Saima Insari of Nazim Jama,

Karachi; Fozia Tasnim, publications manager; Sayyeda Hamina, publications manager of Jama Karachi; Naushaba Tabassum; and local member Shori Faiza Suleiman addressed the joint press conference. They said that all Muslim countries should oppose the CNN and the government of Pakistan should ban CNN. It should use the PTN [People's Television Network] for constructive purposes instead of making it a source of entertainment. All English programs should be banned and such program that entertain, help reform and also conform to Pakistan's philosophy should be shown on the PTN. They further demanded that the long-standing demand for establishing a women's university be approved. They said that increase in tuition in Jama Karachi would make it harder for some to get education and requested that this decision be retracted. They said that in a country where only 26 percent of the people are literate, spending hundreds of thousands of rupees for entertainment was waste of money. "Our country is already burdened with debts and cannot afford such expensive entertainment. The government should designate one channel for education instead of spending 70 million rupees for a new educational channel."

Expansion of Federal Cabinet Criticized

91AS1576D Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
12 Sep 91 p 6

[Text] The much speculated about expansion in the Federal cabinet has finally been effected with the induction of 28 ministers and ministers of state. Even the ANP (Awami National Party) has been given two ministerial slots. Add to that the 20 Parliamentary Secretaries simultaneously appointed and that makes the number of people made happy 69. As for the others, nobody can please everybody. Would it be polite to remind the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] that when Ms Benazir Bhutto inducted a 45-member cabinet, they had severely criticised her and declaimed that such a big cabinet besides being unwieldy, was a burden on the national exchequer. Possibly, unbeknownst to us, the exchequer is now in a much healthier state than it was in the time of Ms Benazir because the IJI government has gone four ministers better than the erstwhile PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government. Finding out what prompted more than doubling the Federal cabinet would be interesting. Is it because there is safety in numbers, for better governance or merely on the assumption that more are merrier?

Ms Benazir had to do this sort of wheeling dealing because her party did not enjoy even a simple majority in the House. Why Mr Nawaz Sharif, with the IJI's strength standing at 156 in a 217-member Parliament, should have felt the necessity to dole out ministerial portfolios in the manner of a king doling out largesse to a fawning court, is a question only the honourable prime minister can answer. It has always been paradoxical for the people of this country that when the Opposition assumes power in the country, it always does what it has bitterly criticised its predecessor for doing. There could not be a

more glaring instance of this than the latest expansion in the Federal cabinet. However, that may be, it is to be hoped that this reckless tossing of portfolios among avid MNAs [members of National Assembly] will end here, unless, of course, the honourable prime minister desires to keep all the IJI members in the National Assembly happy with seats within the cabinet as well.

The induction of two-score Parliamentary Secretaries, we gather, is to spare the ministers the agony of answering questions about their ministries on the floor of the House, so that they can go about the business of attending to their ministerial duties. Perhaps the ministers deserve some respite from the very hard work which many of them are hardly cut out to do or are expected to do. But the question remains: will the Parliamentary Secretaries not cost the exchequer anything? They will require staff, transportation and of course, their allowances and other perks. Is the treasury affluent enough to bear all these expenses with the Rs[rupees]2.5 billion Co-op scandal bill still to be paid. Meanwhile, we know for a fact that there were no Parliamentary Secretaries during the 20-month PPP rule. h1

Minto Interview Stresses Accountability in Judiciary

92AS0005D Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
12 Sep 91 pp 29-30

[Article: "The Judiciary Can't Be Seen in Isolation"; first paragraph is VIEWPOINT introduction]

[Text] Mr Abid Hasan Minto, the noted lawyer, thinks that the judiciary cannot be seen in isolation from the rest of the polity. However, it should be accountable to the people just as other State institutions are. But this is lacking here. Most modern societies allow this type of criticism and the old concept of contempt of court is gradually disappearing. In an interview with VIEWPOINT, Mr. Minto discusses these and other matters.

Excerpts:

VIEWPOINT: The Judiciary is considered to be an important pillar of a democratic system. How do you see the role of the courts in a Third World developing democracy?

ABID HASAN MINTO: As far as the courts are concerned, they are essential for any system, democracy or no democracy. It is our experience in Pakistan also that the courts have continued to exist even during the periods of military rule. If we recall, even during the height of authoritarian rule, courts continued to protect the rights of the people.

VP: Do you think there were no constraints on their functioning?

AHM: The constraints are always there even in a democratic set-up. However, the function of a court in all systems is to adjudicate situations which arise between parties and settle those cases in accordance with the law of the land. But the most difficult task that superior courts perform is that they protect the rights of the

citizen as laid down in the constitution if there is a constitution in the country, if no such document exists then the laws under which a country is being governed.

There are two kinds of democratic systems where this mode operates, the British type and the American type which today prevails in most of the modern societies. Apart from these two main experiences which are two main branches of the Anglo-Saxon system of law, we also have a continental system of law where, in a different context, people operate in the same fashion and they have a variety of duties to perform. Also, the right to interfere in matters which directly relate to the constitutional arrangement in that particular country. Therefore, in all modern societies, whether they follow the American or the British or the continental system, the courts have a very important duty to perform in their own context, that is to protect and promote the rights of the citizen. These rights arise either from the constitution or under the law. Therefore, they protect the constitution and the law of the land. They interpret the law in accordance with the modern developing interests of the individual and the public in general, and between the subject and the State and also between one subject and another; one class of subjects and another class of subjects. They see to it that democratic interests of society are preserved and projected in advance. This is the essence of the task of this forum. It depends largely on the types of laws and constitution that are available to a given society. In countries like Pakistan where the constitutional system and law making has throughout remained uncertain, there has been a consistent fight for constitutional democracy. In countries like ours, the functioning of superior courts is a very delicate one. Sometimes there is a constitution and sometimes there is no constitution at all and the State is run under some extraconstitutional arrangement. In such a situation, courts have very important roles to play. They have to see to it that if Pakistan has to be a democratic society governed by definite laws under a definite constitution which grants certain rights to the citizens and gives them certain protections and also circumscribes the authority of the State, then the courts' function becomes very important.

VP: How do you look at the behaviour of the judges in the courts?

AHM: The behaviour of the judges is the behaviour generally of our society. Their behaviour is the behaviour of the elite in our society. It is just the same. I don't think I understand your question.

VP: For instance, in a situation a judge may reject an equally valid argument because he considers his opinion to be correct...

AHM: The point is that historically, we have developed a large number of laws in all the systems. There are laws of substantive character; there are laws of procedure, circumscribing the authority of the court so that the presiding officer does not act according to his whims.

That is the purpose of making objective laws. Otherwise, everybody has some understanding of good and bad, right and wrong, according to the social values of the country where one is living. Procedure or no procedure, method or no method, justice can be dispensed. The jirga system among our tribals and the panchayats in our rural areas even now continue to dispense some kind of justice. One reason for the development of law itself is actually to define what are the rights and then indicate how these rights are to be protected. Therefore, less and less individual arbitrariness comes into play.

But in Pakistan, where the law has been in a flux, I mean there has been no certainty particularly about constitutional law. A tendency grows sometimes among the judges to evolve a new jurisprudence and more so in the case of Pakistan where the so called Islamisation process is under way, there is a concept now that there has to be a new jurisprudence. A section of the judiciary wants to abandon the Anglo-Saxon traditions. It wants to establish a system of jurisprudence based on their preception of what historically Islam wanted to do to the entire world.

Now this is a dangerous area. I say so because the concept of what should be the new system of jurisprudence varies from judge to judge. This is not a hypothetical assertion. This is what we see almost every day in our courts. There can be a judge whose concept of Islam is consistent with modern society. He may be able to evolve a theory outside the established realm of law, which is consistent with our requirements of developing a democratic State. There can be a judge who has a totally different vision, who has totally different concept of a society's requirements. He can take the law and society in a totally different direction. That is why we say that the objective laws as made by the representatives of the people must be given precedence so that the courts do not act whimsically or arbitrarily.

This is a very difficult proposition because in a developing society the judicial establishment constitutes the highest level of intellectual elite and its their duty to contribute to the development of society.

VP: Reading court proceedings, one finds a certain amount of arbitrariness in the acceptance and rejection of writs. Also one keeps hearing of political pressure being exerted on our courts...

AHM: I think that is quite obvious. Political pressures do operate—directly and at times indirectly. But this is not something peculiar to our country. This happens almost everywhere depending on the nature of the society itself. There have been societies where the courts have been directly controlled by the political authority itself. There are other countries in which courts are free and act according to the democratic aspirations of the people and they apply the law in accordance with the best interests of the citizens and of the constitution. Even there, political and social influences do operate. After all, the judges are also human beings and a part of society.

What is peculiar in countries like Pakistan is that the balance has been so heavily tilted in favour of arbitrariness and authoritarian rule. Here such pressures have been mounting.

VP: The country is divided on biradari ethnic, political and religious lines. Do you think that these prejudices are reflected in judicial decisions?

AHM: They are. Not only ethnic and political but also petty and personal prejudices come into play at a latent level but I believe a patent case will be available only when there is patent political confrontation in society and then judges will take positions.

VP: Do you think that there is an element of corruption in the judiciary?

AHM: I think yes. There is corruption in the judiciary. After all, judges are part of society and when society is totally corrupt then I can't say that the judiciary is totally above board. Such corruption may take a variety of forms. In the case of the judiciary as compared with other sections of society, corruption may not be blatant. If you compare it with the 40's or the 50s corruption in the judiciary was not as pronounced as it is now. In the lower judiciary things are very bad, but now, unfortunately, there are allegations against the superior judiciary as well. However, this does not necessarily mean that money changes hands. But there is intellectual corruption. Here I must repeat that we can't see the judiciary in isolation. We must see it as part of the society in which it is functioning. Political parties are the watchdogs of the rights of the people. They are supposed to monitor the functioning of national institutions, including the judiciary. Now if these parties themselves become corrupt, anybody can succumb to temptation.

VP: Is there a system of accountability or a system of checks and balances in our judicial system?

AHM: There is a three-tier system of accountability within the framework of the judiciary—the court of appeal, the court of revision and the court of supervision. That is one method through which the courts supervise each other and look at each other but that is within the framework itself. As far as the accountability to the people is concerned, well, if they can criticise the function of parliament, if they can call into question the external and internal policies of government, then surely they can also criticise the judiciary. But this is lacking here. This kind of criticism is healthy and is now allowed in most of the modern democracies and the old concept of contempt of court is gradually disappearing and the jurisdiction of the law of contempt has been reduced. Our own Law of Contempt says that a fair comment is permissible but has not been defined what is fair comment and what is not fair comment. This can cause great judicial delays by lending itself to different types of interpretation. Our society has not accepted fair comment in consonance with the needs of a modern, democratic polity. It is the right of a citizen to express his or

her feelings with regard to the exercise of authority by all State institutions, including the judiciary.

VP: Recently, the number of contempt cases has increased particularly those involving the Press.

AHM: I think it is quite obvious that when a newspaper is functioning as a spokesman of the people it is entering into an area where perhaps the law of contempt applies in our country. This is the battle which to my mind will give rise to a situation where the criticism of the courts and the rights of the newspaper as well as those of the citizens will be established.—Z.A.

Judiciary, Relationship To Constitution Reviewed

92AS0005C Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
12 Sep 91 pp 27-28

[Article: "A Product of Rule of Law"; first paragraph is *VIEWPOINT* introduction; boldface words as published]

[Text] Malik Saeed Hasan, a former Judge of the Lahore High Court says that the Judiciary is the product of rule of law. The judiciary gives meaning to the Constitution. However, there cannot be an independent judiciary under an unconstitutional system. In an interview with *Viewpoint* Mr. Malik talks of these and related issues.

Excerpts:

VIEWPOINT: What are your views on the role of the judiciary in Pakistan?

MALIK SAEED HASAN: The Judiciary is the product of rule of law in a society. Society gives itself rule of law. The judiciary is just a means to implementing the rule of law. In our country, rule of law draws its strength from the Constitution. If the Constitution functions properly, rule of law prevails. Ultimate role of the judiciary is to interpret the law and to apply it the adjudication of cases. Unfortunately, we have not allowed the Constitution to function properly. Most of our post-independence years have been spent under military rule in negation of the rule of law and constitutional authority. Our judiciary has been called upon to function in a highly non-production atmosphere not, suitable at all for the evolution of rule of law. Considering its limitations, I think the role of the superior judiciary has more or less been commendable.

VP: How do you look at the relationship between the judiciary and the constitution?

MSH: The Constitution is just a piece of paper. The words written on that piece of paper have to be given meaning by the judges. Let me give you an example. One of the fundamental rights is the right to life. What do we mean by life? This word has to be given a meaning. Does this mean that when an individual is killed only then this right is violated.

The fact that you punish the wrongdoer does not do any good to the man who has been killed. The Supreme Court of India has interpreted this right as the right to quality of life—an assurance by society that makes life worth living. A person has the right to shelter, employment, health care, education and so on.

VP: Has our superior judiciary shown this kind of concern?

MSH: You see, India is different. It has always had constitutional government since independence. We have not allowed successive constitutions to function, so it won't be fair to compare the performance of our judiciary with its Indian counterpart. We should not expect our judiciary to play its role outside the context in which it exists.

There can't be an independent judiciary under an unconstitutional system or under dictatorship. Here it is reduced to the level of a department of government. The security of the tenure of a judge is lost. During the last military dictatorship, we all know Gen. Zia used to appoint and dismiss judges at will. This robbed the judiciary of its dignity.

VP: What do you think of the system of judiciary's accountability in Pakistan?

MSH: It is quite effective. When we talk of the judiciary we mean superior judiciary. For instance, if there is a judge who does not conduct himself properly, he is accountable to the Supreme Judicial Council. I think this is better than having a debate in Parliament. In the Council, he is tried by his peers who are in a better position to appreciate the merits of the case.

VP: A certain section of the judiciary is trying to assume a kind of leadership role to define the nature of law in this country. Any comments?

MSH: The legislature has declared Quran and Sunnah as the supreme law of the land. The Quran and Sunnah is not a definite code. There are general principles which have to be applied while deciding concrete cases. So when the law-makers enact that kind of law that which is above the constitution and is above any other system of law, then you give interpretative authority to a judge to work out what is ordained by the Quran and Sunnah in a given case. If the law gives that kind of authority and a judge exercises that kind of authority we can't object.

VP: What do you think of the law of contempt?

MSH: The law of contempt is not to protect or shield the misconduct of an individual judge. The idea is that a judicial decision is always about a human controversy. For any human being it is a very difficult thing. Because in a contentious matter, a person has to say that 'A' is wrong and 'B' is right. People always justify their own points of view.

So the law of contempt is a must that whatever state decision is given by the court is a decision of the State

and it is the responsibility of the State and the responsibility of public opinion to see that the decision is implemented. If it is just a decision without any sanction of implementation there will be no rule of law. There will be no adjudication and if there is no adjudication, there is no need for the judiciary. This law is basically meant for a person who hinders the implementation of a decision given by a court of law.

VP: What about accountability to the public?

MSH: The courts are being all the time scrutinised by everyone. A judgement is scrutinised by a lawyer, by fellow-judges. A judge gives a written judgement. He is not a politician who pronounce oral judgements.

VP: How effective is this scrutiny that you are talking about?

MSH: For instance, if a judge passes a shoddy judgement, he will be exposed. He will lose respect among his colleagues. I am talking of a judgement which is not based on knowledge, which is not based on objective analysis. Great judgements are always those which are based on great knowledge based and on total objectivity.

VP: Where do you draw the line between objectivity and subjectivity in a society, with political, ethnic and other polarisation?

MSH: I am not against polarisation because if there is freedom, there has to be multiplicity of opinion.

VP: I was wondering about the role of subjective preferences in the so-called objective decision making.

MSH: Of course, a judge must try to be dispassionate and non-partisan. Then a judge is also a human being. He also has his likes and dislikes and notions of right and wrong.

Fairness of 1990 Elections Probed

*91AS1577A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
12, 16, 17 Sep 91*

[Articles by Dr. Inayatullah]

[12 Sep 91 p 7]

[Text] [Boxed item] The writer is former chairman, Department of International Relations, Quaid-i-Azam University, and has also worked as a senior researcher for the United Nations. At present, he is engaged in independent research and is based in Islamabad. Dr. Inayatullah has prepared a detailed, analytical study of the conduct of general elections held in Pakistan in October 1990, with a particular reference to the charges of rigging relating to the poll exercise. THE MUSLIM is serialising an abridged version of the study. Although the original monograph is fully backed with both primary and secondary sources, the notes and references have

been deleted from the present version for reasons of economy of presentation as also for facilitating continuity in reading. [End box]

The controversy over the alleged rigging of the 1990 elections has not subsided even after ten months of the elections. The IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] and PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] give different explanations of their victory and defeat; IJI attributes its success to a superior electoral strategy and PDA claims its defeat due to rigging. This article examines the evidence for and against rigging on the basis of extensive research done on the subject and concludes that all the evidence put together raises serious doubts about the fairness of the elections.

IJI's explanation of its victory is not well grounded in both logic and evidence. Being an alliance of 9 disparate parties, most of them unknown to the public and without any political base, the IJI was formed in the last quarter of 1988 just before the elections with a certain degree of pressure from some state functionaries. Therefore, it lacks natural cohesion and support in all strata of society and provinces. The constant state pressure, fear of and a hatred for the PPP and the "Westernised" female offspring of Z.A. Bhutto and the dream of cheap victory kept it intact in spite of serious internal conflicts. Such a lack of cohesion was evident in the elections of 1990 in which some components of the IJI and its allies were working against each other in all provinces with the possible exception of Punjab. Besides, the major component of the IJI, Nawaz-Junejo Muslim league lacked party organisation particularly in rural areas and reached rural voters only through feudals with ever changing loyalties.

Cohesive

With only four component parties the PDA was relatively cohesive with Benazir Bhutto's leadership of the PDA unquestioned and her crowd pulling capacity intact though made less effective by frequent court attendances. The PPP's [Pakistan People's Party] internal cohesion is also reflected in almost all members of the Bhutto cabinet remaining with her in spite of cases registered against some of them. The "horse traded" [as published] Khar and Jam Sadiq Ali did not make a significant dent on the popular base of the party. Khar's convention was a flop. Jam did not even try such a convention. The large pool of PPP workers in all parts of the country, though not well organised and lacking local and regional level leadership, was still a formidable force against IJI. Their number and commitment compensated for this weakness. The anger of some of the PPP workers against some PPP ministers during its rule subsided when they found Bibi under assault from the state.

The charges of corruption against Benazir Bhutto and her government, in spite of all the publicity, did not affect most voters. In any case Benazir's personal image remained untarnished. A Newsline survey before the

elections showed that only 27 percent interviewees considered her corrupt compared to 52 percent who thought Nawaz Sharif corrupt.

One measure of superior electoral strategy of a party is how much it improved upon its vote base through legitimate means. Going by the official statistics IJI improved its vote base from 31 percent (all figures round) in 1988 to 37 percent in 1990 elections, PDA suffering a decline from 38 percent to 36 percent. However, a province-wise breakdown of changes in vote bases of PDA reveals that in Sindh the PDA declined by 6 percent and in Punjab by 2 percent. It increased in NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] by 0.3 percent and in Balochistan by 9 percent. The vote base of IJI in rural Sindh declined by 4 percent (its seats increasing by 300 percent). It increased for Jam Sadiq supported Independents including the two federal caretakers from Sindh by 15 percent. These changes in vote base of different groups in interior Sindh suggest, and later analysis provides evidence of it, that rather than reflecting switch of voters' loyalty they were product of the use of force by the supposedly neutral caretaker Chief Minister of Sindh.

However, if rigging did take place as this analysis later demonstrates that it did, then increase in the vote base of IJI and decline in that of PPP are the product of rigging and not superior election strategy of the IJI. The statistical analysis of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) shows that in the 32 seats where electoral irregularities took place, the PDA lost about 4 lacs (400,000) of votes which went to IJI. When these votes are added to the PDA votes in 1990 elections and deducted from the IJI's kitty, the PDA vote base rises to its 1988 vote base of 38 percent. The deduction of these votes from IJI's total votes reduces its vote share from 37 percent to 35 percent making PDA's share larger than that of IJI by 3 percent. If votes found bogus by the method used by Najam Sethi are added and deducted from the votes secured by the two alliances their present vote share also changes PDA acquiring 39 percent and IJI 35 percent. If the factor of state support for the IJI and erosion of PDA votes in seats other than the seats identified by NDI and Najam Sethi as rigged is taken into account the gap between PDA and IJI share of votes even further widens.

The IJI also attributes its success to what is called the "One to One" strategy which was the attempt to pool all the anti-PPP votes to defeat PDA. As explained above IJI remained ridden by internal conflicts even shortly before the polling day and therefore was unable to draw sound election plans and implement them effectively. The One to One strategy was the brainchild of a retired general associated with the election cell who implemented it through his special power and the state resources at his disposal. Therefore, where this strategy produced "results" it was not due to the superior strategy of the IJI but due to the pressure and support of the forces determined to ensure its victory.

If the IJI's superior organizational strength and election strategy do not explain its success then what does? The hyperbolic statement of the Election Commission, an agency responsible for ensuring fair elections, that the elections were the fairest in the history of Pakistan, runs against observation and evidence listed later. This evidence suggests that the explanation lies in pre-poll, polling day and post-poll rigging.

Acknowledgement

A number of persons associated with caretaker governments and IJI have acknowledged that rigging has taken place. The most significant acknowledgement of rigging published in the local press came from the caretaker Chief Minister of Sindh himself who said that "he could even have gotten Ms Bhutto defeated from Larkana, but president Ghulam Ishaq Khan was too much of a gentleman to permit him to do it." The statement besides acknowledging his own part in the rigging involves the President too. It also indicates the existence of a plan for the rigging and Jam's successful efforts to include Benazir Bhutto's Larkana constituency in the list of constituencies targeted for rigging as this would have seriously jeopardized the credibility of election.

The head of Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), a component party of the IJI, charged massive rigging in four constituencies of JI candidates (by the caretaker government of NWFP). The present IJI Chief Minister of Balochistan, Jamali, suspended ten deputy commissioners alleging their participation in rigging. Later he added that about 25 percent of the seats (in Balochistan?) were rigged. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, the then caretaker Prime Minister first denied charges of rigging, then later acknowledged them saying that Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan was defeated under a plan and some other prominent figures might have met the same fate. A research report issued by an Institute headed by Naib Amir Jamaat-e-Islami reported that the caretakers in Sindh made 15-20 constituencies their target in the interior Sindh and succeeded in achieving the desired results by using the entire state machinery. Recently, a former advisor to the former Chief Minister of Punjab, Naveed Malik, acknowledged the existence of one election cell in Islamabad and one in Lahore to manipulate elections and confessed that he was a member of the Punjab election cell. Maulana Fazalur Rehman of JUI [Jamiati-Ulema-i-Islam] who earlier accepted now insists that rigging did take place.

Retraction

Except for Jamali who retracted his first statement probably on pressure from high-ups in Islamabad, no one else has withdrawn his statement about rigging. However not all acknowledgements can be given equal weight. Both Jatoi's and Naveed Malik's confessions lack credibility. Jatoi changed his statement. He also massively rigged his own Sindh seat. Naveed Malik's confessions are not credible due to his dubious character, uncertain loyalties and his failure to substantiate his

charges. His confessions would be used in the present analysis only where other evidence supports them. However, acknowledgement of rigging by others cannot be rejected off-hand.

Except for the Canadian team which issued only a four word statement declaring elections to be fair, the other three international observer teams, suggested some degree of rigging though for different reasons. The French team charged that considerable rigging occurred. The National Democratic Institute (NDI) initially stated that elections were fair but later in its final report qualified it by stating that on the basis of its statistical analysis it has found serious electoral irregularities in 15 percent (32) of the constituencies of the National Assembly. It also found that the advantage of being in government (incumbency) helped IJI in its elections. The SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] team also partly attributed IJI's success to this factor. Among Pakistani scholars and journalists who analysed election results, Najam Sethi, Dr Maleeha Lodhi, Professor Khalid Mahmood, Akbar Zaidi, Talaat Aslam and Raja Afzal found anomalies of various types. Sethi's most comprehensive analysis found statistical anomalies in 35 constituencies suggestive of rigging.

Only the findings of the French team were contested by the Election Commission on the ground that the team came late on the polling day and did not observe enough of the election process to be able to make the broad generalisations that it made. This criticism of the shortage of time available to the French team is indeed correct but most of their observations on polling confirm the election irregularities observed by other observers as well.

Establishment

In the repeatedly rigged elections of Pakistan, the rigging of the elections of 1990 stands out for its unique features that the military-bureaucratic establishment (hereafter to be referred only as Establishment) participated in rigging for achieving the twin goals of bringing its client alliance into power and destroying the PPP. The reasons for this are discussed below.

Since the early fifties the higher echelon of military bureaucratic institutions has become more and more powerful as the party which won Pakistan disintegrated. This Establishment gradually became independent of civilian control and imposed three martial laws. It tried to reshape the political system of Pakistan to concentrate more and more power in its hands, reducing the power of political institutions such as legislatures and political parties. It also prevented the emergence of mass-based parties or emasculated their strength by creating client parties.

[16 Sep 91 p 7]

[Text] Post-poll manipulation of election results occurred after the polling time was over. It was done after it was found that in spite of the use of the two

methods of rigging the results in certain constituencies did not correspond to the plan. For post-poll rigging the following arrangements were made and methods used.

First, both at federal and provincial level election cells to monitor and manipulate results according to a plan were created. They were connected to each tehsil or subdivision headquarter and were kept informed of the progress of the election. A number of interviews conducted with certain well-informed persons in Islamabad support the existence of the federal cell headed by a retired general. The existence of such a cell in Balochistan is proved by a document published in NEWSLINE of November 1990 and the NDI final report.

Anticipating the need for post-poll rigging, the federal and provincial caretakers and the election cells had made necessary arrangements in advance for implementing post-poll rigging. A considerable number of polling agents of the PDA were not given tally sheets by polling officers in accordance with instructions given to them by the administration. Some agents were removed from their polling stations before the polls or at the time of counting votes so that they could not get such sheets. This was necessary for post-poll rigging through tampering with the ballot boxes and stuffing them with pre-stamped ballots and adjusting the entries accordingly. If tally sheets were given to all the polling agents then the PDA candidates could add up their results and establish rigging.

AC [Assistant Commissioner] and DC [Deputy Commissioner]

In polling stations of certain constituencies polling officers concerned instead of taking ballot boxes directly to the Returning Officers took them to an officer of general administration usually an AC or DC. A four-member observer team from Multan, three of them lawyers belonging to different local organisations, noted that ballot boxes were issued and initially received back by the Assistant Commissioner of the Illaqa (administrative subdivision). Most Polling Officers were directed to first report to the Assistant Commissioner's office and then to the Returning Officer. Police wagons were used for this purpose.

French Observers Team found that the Presiding Officer of one polling station instead of going direct to the Returning Officer for reporting, stayed on the way in some IJI candidate's house for a while and then left for the office of the Returning Officer. The Team also observed that defeat of PDA could be partly explained due to the use of this sophisticated mechanism.

As earlier discussion about the transfers of officers suggests, officers willing to help in rigging were posted in the targeted constituencies in advance. In accordance with the instructions of the federal cell these officers added the necessary ballots to the ballot boxes and made necessary correction or entry in tally sheets. They were then sent to Returning Officers as required by Election Commissions procedure. From this the results were sent

to Provincial and Central Election Commission which sent them for announcement on the PTV [Pakistan Television].

There is some evidence though not fully conclusive that some staff of the Election Commission possibly without the knowledge of their chief but with the help of the Secretary and Additional Secretary of the Commission participated in the manipulation of results. A group of journalists which visited the Election Commission on the night of election was told by a representative of the Commission that the results first came to the result receiving centres of the Commission on phone which then were verified on the phone from the field. The results on the PTV were announced, however, only after receiving a fax from the Provincial Election Commissions. This gives rise to the question why the results were first communicated to the Commission and then verified on phone from the field, if they were to be considered authentic only after a fax was received from the Provincial Election Commissions. One plausible explanation fitting into the overall plan for rigging is that some of the staff of the Election Commission was in touch with the Federal Election Cell in Islamabad and the field officers for ensuring that the results received were in accordance with the plan prepared by the Federal Cell.

Indication

An indication of post-poll rigging comes from the NDI group in Sukkur which reported that at about midnight of the polling day they were at the house of the Commissioner where the Deputy Commissioner and some police officials were also present. After receiving some calls they told the group that besides the three constituencies of Sukkur district the PPP had also won the seat of Asif Zardari defeating Murtaza Jatui, the Prime Minister's son.

Next day they found to their surprise that Asif Zardari had been defeated. The official record shows he lost by about 20,000 votes. Obviously post-poll manipulation by the Election Cell did the trick.

Besides some of the proof cited above, higher turnout shown in the official gazette of the Election Commission provides an indirect proof of rigging. The argument rests on four premises: higher turnout was not expected nor generally observed; in certain constituencies where low turnout was observed but official turnout was high, the beneficiary of such "higher" turnout were invariably the IJI candidates; as Establishment with the help of the administration were determined to ensure the victory of IJI and defeat the PDA, only they could inflate the official turnout to secure the success or defeat of certain candidates. Finally certain constituencies show baffling patterns of voting which in the absence of a superior electoral strategy of IJI could be explained only through rigging. Contrary to the consistent trend of declining turnout since the first national elections of 1970 and experts' expectations, the turnout in 1990 election was higher, reversing the earlier trends. On the basis of logic

and political trends in Pakistan, Dr Maleeha Lodhi had predicted that instead of going up the turnout would decline in this election. Against this no analyst predicted a higher turnout for 1990. Further almost all direct observations of polls record low turnout.

The 45-percent official turnout was against the turnout observed by the Chief Election Commissioner, the observation teams, and the Press correspondents visiting polling stations on 24 October 1990. This, according to Dr Lodhi "defy both logic" and observations of "those who visited polling stations on election day (and) came back with an impression that more people had stayed home than the last time around. The Chief Election Commissioner after his tour of polling stations in four constituencies observed at 7.30 p.m. two hours after the termination of polling, that turnout would be around 30 to 35 percent about 10 to 15 percent below the official turnout. The first batch of panelists on PTV before the announcement of election results said that turnout was low and one of them the well known journalist Mushahid Hussain even predicted that this would lead to victory of PDA. According to a reporter of THE MUSLIM the NDI observers also noted a low turnout. The French Team concluded the same. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) correspondent reported a turnout of not more than 30 percent confirming other observations.

Most significantly the correspondents of four relatively independent newspapers (DAWN, THE MUSLIM, THE NATION and FRONTIER POST) reported, as published in their respective newspapers after polling, that in a large number of polling stations of about 30 constituencies scattered all over the country that they visited, the turnout was low. A DAWN reporter published his interview with Ijazul Haq (who as an IJI candidate from NA-39) in which he said that having observed a low turnout till 2.30 on 24 October, he went home dejected. While there were consistent reports of low turnout from most observers, none reported high turnout from any part of the country.

Who Benefited?

If the turnout was consistently reported to be low but official figures showed it to be higher than 1988 elections by about 2 percent, the next important question is who benefited from this "higher" turnout.

In one of the first analyses of election Dr Maleeha Lodhi found that most of the votes due to higher turnout at least in Punjab went to IJI which looked implausible. Najam Sethi who did the most extensive election analysis also came to the same conclusion. This broad conclusion is supported by the results of elections of 30 constituencies mentioned above where turnout was reported by press correspondents to be low. From among these constituencies wherever the official turnout was higher than the last elections contrary to the press observations, the winning candidate was without exception either of IJI or ANP [Awami National Party], an ally of IJI. On the other hand where the observed and official turnout was the same either PDA or MQM [Muhajir

Qaumi Movement] won. Talat Aslam's penetrating analysis of the level of turnout and its impact on "success" of IJI and its allies also supports this conclusion. One of his findings is that from among the 8 constituencies with the highest official turnout, six were won by IJI and its allies, one by JUI and one by PDA and most of the successes scored by PDA are in constituencies with low official turnout.

While the above analysis establishes that in general the beneficiaries of higher turnout were IJI candidates the charge of rigging could not be established if they were not in a position to turn the low turnout high. Our above analysis shows that for reasons discussed in an earlier part of the paper the Establishment wanted the IJI to win, both to defeat and to destroy PPP. Therefore it provided all possible help directly through caretakers to IJI candidates to win. Where needed, it turned low turnout into high turnout.

[17 Sep 91 p 7]

[Text] That overall victory of IJI was due to rigging is further supported by the statistical inconsistencies found only in some constituencies won by IJI and its allies. Three approaches have been adopted to detect such inconsistencies.

The first approach argues that as difference in votes secured by the two alliances is extremely small, i.e., 0.78 percent to produce substantial difference in seats won by the two alliances (IJI, 105 and PDA, 45), it shows rigging done by the winning IJI. Some analysts have done analysis of a few districts and showed that seats won by PDA in comparison to votes it collected are disproportionately small. IJI have rejected this approach as wrong citing cases of other elections in Pakistan as well as elections in other countries where small difference in votes produced large difference in seats won or lost. The Election Commission has also supported this argument. In its logic the argument is correct though unnecessary. In the electoral system of Pakistan if only two parties or alliances contest elections it is theoretically possible that a party winning only one more vote than its opponent on every seat can get all 207 seats. In a similar situation it is even possible that a party winning less votes than its opponent may win more seats. However, as the above analysis indicates in the specific case of 1990 elections such unusual results, even though theoretically possible, were produced through rigging.

A second approach to proving rigging through statistical inconsistencies used by Najam Sethi assumed that real turnout remained the same as in 1988—an assumption which evidence cited above supports. Therefore if an IJI candidate won with a significant switch of 1988 PPP and third parties voters to his side and the turnout remained the same or increased insignificantly then there is no statistical inconsistency. But if there was no switch or only a marginal switch and there was substantial rise in turnout then the seat showed inconsistency and is suspected of rigging. Using this method Sethi identified 35 constituencies excluding Balochistan as suspect. The approach could be illustrated by

data from the constituency NA-96 from where Shahbaz Sharif won. The PDA lost only 1,487 votes from its base vote of 1988 to Shahbaz Sharif. Others lost only 1,608 and Shahbaz Sharif gained 15,780 votes more than IJI candidate got in 1988. Assuming that all the votes lost by the PDA and others went to Shahbaz Sharif still the "new votes" he got were 12,685. Such a big addition of new votes according to this method makes this constituency suspect.

Limitation

There is at least one serious limitation of this method for detecting rigging. If substantial decrease in PDA votes is due to forcible prevention of PDA voters to vote (use of Method-II) and increase in IJI votes is small, it cannot detect rigging. This for instance is the case with Jatoi's constituency where according to this method there is no statistical inconsistency because 51,000 voters who voted for PPP in 1988 "switched over" to Jatoi and rise in turnout by 5 percent was not regarded significant by Sethi. However, a constituency where the winning candidate gets more votes amounting to 56,708 in 1990 than what he got in 1988 and where there appeared 5,600 "new" votes all going to the winning candidate, it appears suspect even by commonsense. In addition the polling day observations in this constituency by the two correspondents of HERALD summarised above show that there was no voluntary switch of 51,000 voters to Jatoi. The supporters of Jatoi first prevented the PPP voters from casting their votes by force and then cast their unused votes for Jatoi.

Sethi has not correctly applied his method at least in one constituency NA-95 from where Nawaz Sharif won which Sethi marked showing statistical inconsistency. Nawaz Sharif got 49,318 votes in 1988, his PPP opponent securing 36,065 winning by a margin of 13,253. In 1990 he secured 59,810 votes and his PDA opponent got 39,562. Thus Nawaz Sharif's 1988 votes were greater by 9,756 votes of the PDA votes of 1990. It means that Nawaz Sharif would have retained his seats in 1990 even if there were no additional votes due to higher turnout or new registration. Although electoral malpractices did take place in this constituency they only added to Sharif's margin of victory and not to victory itself. This constituency could be considered rigged only if it is established that it was rigged in 1988 or that there was substantial real decline in votes of Nawaz Sharif below his 1988 base which was eliminated through adding votes to his kitty.

The number of constituencies suspected by Sethi remains the same even if Nawaz Sharif's constituency is taken out due to the addition of NA-156 which was lost by Elahi Bux Soomro when Sethi did the analysis but later "won" by him in recounting. The statistical data show it to be rigged.

Erosion

A third approach developed and used by NDI led to suspect 32 constituencies (again no seat from Balochistan

is included for lack of comparable data) showing electoral irregularities though it did not rule out the possibility that these inconsistencies could be due to "coordinated political activity" of the winning party. NDI used two methods based on one principle—the size of erosion of PPP votes it got in 1988. The erosion is determined by the number or percentage of votes lost by PPP in 1990 from what it got in 1988 plus any loss in its predicted share of votes in increased votes due to higher turnout. PDA's predicted share in higher turnout was determined by dividing the new votes in accordance with the share of PPP and IJI votes in 1988 elections. All seats in which such erosion of PPP votes was more than 25 percent of its votes in 1988 were considered suspicious or rigged. In this category fall 13 seats. The second procedure used is that the constituencies where such erosion is 15 percent and above but lower than 25 percent and in addition the winning candidate acquired all the votes due to higher turnout, all the votes cast for the other parties in 1988 and all the votes lost by PDA from its 1988 base, then such a constituency also becomes suspicious. In this category fall 19 seats. Using both the methods NDI arrived at the figure of 32 suspicious seats. Out of them, 26 went to IJI including "independents" in Sindh, 4 to ANP and 2 to PDA which it won in spite of "unusual" performance of IJI candidates.

The first method can be illustrated with the data again from Jatoi's constituency NA-158 in Sindh. The PDA in 1990 election lost 72 percent of the votes it collected in 1988 as well as its proportionate share in the higher turnout. This figure being higher than 25 percent, the seat is considered rigged. The figure of 72 percent was arrived in the following way. The number of votes lost by PPP from what it got in 1988 is 50,021. From among the votes of 7,146 due to higher turnout the expected share of PPP on the basis of its share of votes in 1988 was 1,387 votes. It did not get this share. Therefore its total loss of votes was 51,405 or a loss of 72 percent votes of its base votes in 1988.

The second method can be illustrated by the case of NA-I contested by Benazir Bhutto and ANP's Bilour. The number of votes lost by PDA in 1990 over what it got in 1988 is 5,707. From among the votes due to higher turnout of 10,200, the expected share of PPP votes on the basis of its share of votes in 1988 should have been 4,419. It did not get this share. Therefore its total loss of votes was 9,856 or a loss of 22 percent of its base. As this figure is more than 15 percent and less than 25 percent and all the votes lost by PDA and other candidates have gone to ANP therefore NDI considers it a suspicious or rigged seat.

The NDI's view that "coordinated political activity" could be a possible explanation of victory of IJI in these constituencies does not hold in view of our earlier findings that IJI on its own and without the support of the Establishment could not coordinate its political activity so well as to defeat PDA. Rigging is therefore a more plausible and perhaps the only reasonable explanation of electoral irregularities in these constituencies.

Lack of Data

Najam Sethi and the NDI did not analyse the election results in Balochistan due to lack of comparable data for 1988. However, there are three seats in Balochistan which certainly seemed to be rigged: NA-202 won by the son of Nawab Bugti whose father virtually ran the caretaker government; NA-201 Kachchi won again by JWP [Jamhoori Watan Party] and NA-207 Turbat where the opposition party candidate of PNP won in spite of the efforts of the caretakers to rig. All three seats experienced the highest level of turnout in Balochistan. An additional factor which lends force to the charge of these seats being rigged is that all three fall in the districts of the three of the 10 Deputy Commissioners suspended by the present Chief Minister of Balochistan for participation in rigging.

The two independent statistical analyses of Najam Sethi and NDI arriving at about the same figure is significant indicating that at least this number of seats were rigged. However, in spite of this near consensus on the total number, only 8 seats have been commonly identified by both analyses as suspicious or rigged, showing the difficulty of considering the same seat as rigged using two different methods. It is also significant that if the number of seats considered rigged using Sethi's method plus three seats suspected of being rigged in Balochistan are added to the 45 seats won by PDA they total up to 83 and by using NDI method they add up to 78. These numbers of seats are close to the predictions of the press, diplomats and the intelligence agencies which would have been won if polling day and post-poll rigging has not taken place. The number could have further gone up without pre-poll rigging.

Conclusions

The elections of 1990 were rigged but with some special features. First there was pre-poll or structural rigging in which the former Chief of Army Staff, the President and the caretaker governments, all constitutionally expected to be neutral, took part supporting one alliance against the other. By their attitude and actions they so heavily tilted the balance of power in favour of the IJI that it did not remain a fair electoral contest between IJI and PDA but became one between the powerful Establishment and the PDA. Thus the elections of 1990 were rigged before they took place. However, even with such rigging all predictions including three polls discussed above gave PDA 75 to 90 seats.

The possibility of Benazir Bhutto returning with the largest number of seats prompted the Establishment to confine the PDA seats to 45 by using operational rigging which included the use of force and fraud and post-poll rigging which included manipulation of results after the polls. The proof of such rigging comes from some direct observations of polling process and other evidence listed above. Indirect proof comes from the turnout data. Inconsistent with the trend of declining turnout since the elections of 1970, the turnout in 1990 elections increased according to the gazette

of the Election Commission. This was contrary to the prediction and the observations of most observers including the Chief Election Commissioner, the International Observer Teams, the correspondents of four independent newspapers and others. The rise in turnout from the level of 1988 more often benefited the IJI candidates and low turnout or decline in turnout frequently benefited PDA. As only the Establishment committed to bring IJI into power and to deprive PDA from victory had the necessary means including the administrative machinery to turn the observed low turnout into high turnout, it is reasonable to infer that it helped raise it at least in certain targeted constituencies through polling day and post-poll rigging ensuring IJI victory in them. Some evidence presented above supports this conclusion. Besides, a certain number of persons having direct knowledge or opportunity of participation in rigging such as Chief Ministers of Sindh and Balochistan confirm that rigging did take place.

The Establishment's goal of bringing IJI into power through all possible means including rigging has been achieved. The PDA has been deprived through unfair means from becoming the largest party in the National Assembly with about 75-90 seats in the National Assembly. This has dealt a serious blow to the growth of democratic institutions in Pakistan, as all other rigged elections did. As rigging became possible not due to any serious imperfection of electoral laws, though indeed they do exist, but because the Establishment wanted to destroy a political party for reasons discussed above, the question of electoral reforms is less important. What is needed for strengthening democracy in Pakistan is to identify means to constrain the Establishment to accept and adhere to the definition of its role in the original 1973 Constitution. This requires that the military top brass commits itself to a purely professional and politically, neutral role in the true sense abjuring the role of king makers; Damocles sword of the 8th Amendment is removed from the heads of prime ministers and Assemblies and letting them learn democracy by making mistakes—the only way democracy is learned; political leaders contain their antagonism within civilised and democratic limits, not calling each other traitors to be hanged from the next pole and not carrying their political enmity to an extreme, providing the military an opportunity to intervene in politics. However, it will be utopian to expect all this happening unless a political and social revolution occurs in the country ending bureaucratism (monopoly of power of civil and military bureaucracy over the State) and feudalism (power of the feudals over the society).

The Establishment is relentlessly pursuing its second goal of rigging—the destruction of the PPP. Using extreme repression the Sindh Chief Minister is alienating the Sindhis from Pakistan in the same way as Monem Khan, the Governor of East Pakistan during Ayub's regime, alienated East Pakistanis. Should Pakistanis let history repeat itself? All those committed to unity of Pakistan on the basis of justice and equity must ponder over this question and act when threat to the unity of Pakistan can still be averted.

Articles Call for Political Restraint

Consensus on National Issues

91AS1569A Karachi DAWN in English 9 Sep 91 p 11

[Article by M.B. Naqvi: "Political Behavior & Restraint"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leader Benazir Bhutto's remarks on the status of Pakistan's nuclear programme to foreign journalists the other day have apparently shocked ministers and government supports. Ms Bhutto herself has tried to clarify them. But the substantive position appears to be that she did say things to the effect that Pakistan should not have crossed the threshold of nuclear capability it had reached circa 1985.

The implication of her remarks, despite the clarification, remains that Pakistan did move beyond that threshold. Hence the complaint of disregarding national interests (on the assumption that saying so was conceding what the 'enemies of the nation' were charging on the further supposition that if the Leader of the Opposition had not said so Pakistan's political stance vis-a-vis the target countries would have been stronger).

Did Benazir Bhutto compromise the national interest? The answer, unfortunately, is not obvious. For, Pakistan is not blessed with a national consensus on foreign policy like so many other countries where people do debate and discuss foreign policy issues and sometimes violently differ.

But in all stable, specially democratic countries, there is generally a consensus on the overall purposes and structure of the foreign policy. That is, there is always a broad agreement on what the national interests are. The differences generally are about how best to pursue those national interests—which is a large enough field for political parties to bash one another. That is not so in Pakistan.

Ever since 1953 when Gen Ayub Khan and Ghulam Muhammad signed various military pacts with the West and pro-West countries in an obscure and questionable manner, foreign policy has occasioned a radical division within the body politic. It remains a controversial subject. The recent adventures of late Gen Ziaul Haq in Afghanistan, or for that matter his no-war pact offer to India, were made off his own bat; there was no national debate before or after and the government did not consult anyone on these matters.

Similarly, the nuclear programme, too, has never been debated: The government claims it is peaceful in intent; foreigners and domestic hardliners suspect otherwise. Suspecting the worst the US demands on the executed threat of aid stoppage, Pakistan's signing of NPT [Non-proliferation Treaty]. Pakistan refuses on the plea that since India does not give up the nuclear option, it will also not forego this choice. Which is where we are. Many Pakistanis wish that we should take a different line so as to avoid a possible nuclear arms race or other conflict with India.

It is true that many in the Pakistani media and in the government appear to favor a nuclear deterrent for Pakistan. But the fact has to be faced that there is an influential body of opinion that holds the nuclear weapons to be not only bad per se, but in fact harmful to Pakistan's security.

It is not possible to ascertain which school constitutes a majority among the opinion makers, though the general impression is that Bomb wallahs are more in number; they certainly are very loud. But the fact remains that the nation does not enjoy unanimity of views on this subject.

The Pakistani predicament of not having national consensus on foreign policy is not an isolated fact. It is indeed a close companion fact, if not a byproduct of a fundamental polarization over the basis of national unity that is generally symbolized by the constitution's universal acceptability. In our case, all the initial years were a witness to intense differences and later soul-searching for the failure to find a basis for a happily-united national (political) life based on democratic freedoms.

No doubt, a constitution of sorts was hastily agreed upon in 1956 after Ghulam Muhammad's soul-searing hatchet work in 1953, 1954 and 1955. But powerful vested interests overthrew even the 1956 constitution only two and a half years later. Indeed, the fundamental dis-unity over the basis of Pakistani nationhood was what prevented the holding of general elections for 23 years.

Only a brief period of national unity was seen in 1973 when the first fully-debated and freely-agreed constitution was passed. But, sadly enough, it was quickly tampered with by Mr Z.A. Bhutto making controversial amendments when he abridged the people's fundamental rights. Soon it was (finally) thrown in the dustbin by Gen Zia four years later, calling the action 'putting it in abeyance'. Whenever authoritarianism raises its ugly head, national unity collapses and disappears.

But Pakistanis are a people who want to be free and live in a democratic order. They yearn for symbols and manifestations of national unity based on democratic institutions and norms such as consensus over the bases of national consensus (constitution). A universally accepted foreign-policy orientation is predicated on a condition where one does not question the fundamentals but debates the precise ways of promoting the nation's well-being. Alas, this is only a wish and not a fact.

The ministers and official publicists who are scandalized by Benazir Bhutto for compromising national interest must also remember the predicament she is in. At the obvious level, she is paying PM [Prime Minister] Nawaz Sharif back in his own coin: Time was when the then Chief Minister of Punjab condemned PM Benazir Bhutto for (a) selling the Kashmiris down the river by cultivating Rajiv Gandhi; (b) compromising on Pakistan's nuclear programme in Washington; and (c) for being subservient to the Americans and Indians. It is now her turn to accuse PM Nawaz Sharif of (a) surrendering to Narasimha Rao; (b) betraying the Kashmiris

cause; and (c) angling with a view to subjecting Pakistan's nuclear programme to American wishes. But this tit for tat is not all.

Ms Bhutto's party, PPP, is undoubtedly being harassed and persecuted. At this point one is not going into the rights and wrongs of what CM [Chief Minister] Jam Sadiq Ali is doing; only the plain fact of the situation is relevant. Some 15 or more elected deputies of the party have in fact defected and joined the Jam Sadiq bandwagon. More may follow. She is, therefore, desperate.

On the one hand, she holds Mr Nawaz Sharif culpable in this matter—in any case, he did swallow his pride when his three-member IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] committee to investigate charges against CM fizzled out—and on the other, she is obviously cultivating the Americans.

Somehow, Ms Bhutto is still convinced that the American ambassador, the Viceroy, would intercede. It was due to this belief, not wholly groundless in 1988, that she allowed herself to be bamboozled into accepting so many onerous terms for getting into the office of the PM. She must have later regretted accepting those conditions. However, no one has been able to disabuse her of the notion that the Americans are always able to favor or reward their blue-eyed boys (or girls)—and that too for their docility.

Even the most thorough-bred pro-Americans get Uncle Sam's active support only when they prove their nuisance value: unless they are accommodated, the much desired stability would elude. There is no objective reason why Americans would give up trying to do business with Mr Nawaz Sharif and or President Ghulam Ishaq Khan (who are reasonably well-ensconced)—on their own terms of course.

If her party is being decimated or is otherwise disintegrating, Uncle Sam has no reason to grieve; he is merely pragmatic. He would deal with whoever gets into power and can deliver the goods. If Ms Bhutto wants to save her party, she has to look inward: into herself, her party, and go to the people. Let her rebuild the party if she can—braving all the undoubted hazards she had created for herself by selecting time-servers and those that Jam Sadiq Ali is creating in her path. No one else will come to her rescue.

As for the IJI ministers and their publicists, there is no use their gasping at what the Leader of Opposition is saying. Where is the consensus on national purposes that she is supposedly compromising? It is up to them to help build it almost *ab-initio*. It is a long-haul effort.

But a beginning can be made now. Like all political objectives, it is to be achieved through considerable give-and-take. Being in power, IJI types have already done so much of 'taking'. It is now their turn to 'give': protection of life to the PPP and its leaders as an earnest of observing democratic norms. After this has been 'given', Leader of Opposition can be expected to abide by agreed or desired rules of political behavior. Is the government capable of

ensuring the normal, free functioning of democratic opposition, with norms and traditions of democracy, being observed for all citizens and politicians?

Confrontation Reaching Crisis

91AS1569B Karachi DAWN in English 5 Sep 91 p 11

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: Consensus, Not Confrontation"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The atmosphere of bitterness and confrontation between the government and the opposition has reached a critical point at which they either earnestly reconsider it and retrace their steps, or they go down irretrievably squabbling and demolishing each other frenetically.

Neither the government nor the opposition has improved its image or strengthened its position through the bellicosity shown by them, which climaxed on the Independence Day when both the Prime Minister [PM] and the Leader of the Opposition attacked each other with an excess of fury.

The kind of political debate we now have, if we can dignify their declamations by calling them a debate, is marked for its animosity and unrestrained urge for politically annihilating each other quick. Their declamations are more abusive than enlightening, more raucous than logical and more emotional and rhetoric than rational or realistic. And instead of trying to raise the political consciousness of the illiterate masses to whom democracy should mean good political education, we have a rather unedifying combat of a personal kind between two top individuals—one a Prime Minister and the other a former holder of that lofty office.

This spectacle with its profusion of invectives and sweeping allegations against each other has brought down the level of the political debate to a very low level to the total disappointment, and even disgust, of the masses. It is certainly a nauseous spectacle they can do without at a time when they face serious problems—from paucity of drinking water and pervasive unemployment to soaring inflation and corruption and threat to life and limbs.

This animosity with its harsh language and wild allegations cannot be explained away with the argument that both are young. In fact, both of them started better after the 1988 and 1990 elections, but soon slipped down to an acceptable level.

On Independence Day Mr Nawaz Sharif said: "My blood boils when I even think of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]. I could finish off the PPP with just two strokes." He accused the PPP of being insincere to democracy and threatened to "kick them out of the way" if they proved to be an obstacle in the way of democracy.

Ms Benazir Bhutto speaking later at Mochi Gate ridiculed the Prime Minister endlessly, and said: "I am a militant. Shaheed Bhutto's blood is running in my veins. I cannot be deterred." She said they had come out with

their shrouds either to die or oust the government, which had usurped the office illegally—through blatant rigging of the elections.

That day it was not the spirit of Independence which won, but the spirit of rancor. Independence and intolerance do not go together. But in Pakistan we tend to go for the lesser options too often. And we become intolerant and violent in the name of Islam, too, although Islam means peace and the Holy Prophet has said there is no compulsion in religion.

In India, following the recent elections which did not give the Congress-I a majority in Lok Sabha, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao is trying to work on the basis of a political consensus and is constantly consulting the leaders of the opposition parties and independent members. He is aware that even if the Congress-I had a majority, problems like the uprising in Kashmir, the endless killings in East Punjab, the crisis in the north-east, the grave economic conditions and the foreign policy issues following the weakening of the USSR—a good friend of India—cannot be solved except through a national consensus and cooperation.

Since the Indian leaders try to work more or less close to the spirit of the Indian political system, the constitutional process has continued there during the last 44 years without the kind of military intrusion we have suffered or invited. The system in India is undoubtedly defective as it works, but it has survived because of the strength of its democratic infrastructure and despite the weakness of the super-structure.

But in Pakistan even after having spent half our life under martial law in three stretches and lost half the country ignominiously in the process, we are not wiser and we do not want to behave better. Our leaders do not seem to realize that they face too many insuperable problems. These include Kashmir, the Afghan conflict, the nuclear issue, the IMF pressure on us to reform and rescue the economy, the fallout of the suspension of US aid and the grave law and order problem and the widening ethnic conflict in Sindh despite the official efforts to paper over it publicly, the increasing narcotic menace, the manner in which the large scale and open smuggling has been stifling our industrial growth, and the pervasive corruption which has been stunting our political, economic and social growth and made the evil forces very powerful.

And as big problems give birth to many small problems we have clashes in Karachi now between student groups over admission to the colleges after the kind of farcical examinations we have, and more and more teachers' associations fear having anything to do with such students and go on strike.

And look at the increasing railway accidents with their large death toll and rising number of explosions in trains, like the one on Monday in Balochistan which killed eight and injured 27. And the day before that bomb explosions in Hyderabad killed two persons and injured 30.

This is the large basket of problems which the government should grapple with resolutely with the help of the opposition. The opposition, too, must focus on these issues and come up with the right solutions, and educate the people about them if the government does not respond to its suggestion positively. The country is far more important than the government or the opposition: but they think and certainly behave as if they are far more important than the country as they can afford to take the masses for granted and elections in Pakistan are not what they ought to be in democracy.

What the squabbling political forces do not realize, or act in a manner that they do not, is that there are two other forces ready to step into the vacuum they create periodically. The first is the military and the other is the religious force. The latter argues that Islam offers the solution for all the problems. But the religious leaders are split into scores of parties, discredit each other, and each claims to be the sole custodian of true Islam. During the long years of Gen Zia's rule, the military and the clerics joined hands and sustained him until the fateful air crash.

The Jamaat-i-Islami has a problem with Mr Nawaz Sharif who prefers the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] politically to it, though it was very close to him while he was Chief Minister of the Punjab. Now the JI [Jamaat-i-Islami] is not publicly asking him to distance himself from the MQM, but insists instead that the Shariat, as it sees it, should be implemented forthwith, fully aware that it can't be.

As we are a federation our leaders should take notice of what has happened in the USSR so suddenly, and what is happening in Yugoslavia. But they don't, except that Maulana Fazlur Rahman says if we followed Islam nothing like what happened in the USSR could happen here. But those who really believe in Islam will not set up umpteenth parties in the name of Islam, squabble with each other furiously and discredit themselves.

On the one side the country is becoming more and more ungovernable, and on the other the governments in Pakistan lose their bearing quick and focus on trivial issues. At heart, our rulers have never been for accommodating the opposition. Most of the time then feel so unsure of themselves or their party, that they want to liquidate the opposition, buy over its members or silence them. Sindh reflects this tragic drama in full at present.

It should be said to the credit of Ms Benazir Bhutto that when she came to power she did not embark on a course of punishing the opposition or destroying that or go on a witch hunt. That was also partly the result of the fact that her government was based on "power-sharing and continuity." Continuity on the basis of Mr Ghulam Ishaq continuing as President and power-sharing on the basis of Sahabzada Yaqub continuing as foreign minister and Mr V.A. Jafarey becoming Adviser to the PM on finance with cabinet rank as Dr Mahbubul Haq was not acceptable to the PPP.

But soon after the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government came in, a process of unilateral or one-sided "accountability" was initiated. And unfortunately it was the President himself who began that process against the PPP leaders to the total exclusion of IJI figures.

In Sindh, Jam Sadiq Ali has apparently been commissioned to annihilate the PPP, and he is succeeding pretty well as he is sparing nothing in his desperate efforts to achieve his target quick lest his position becomes untenable soon.

So Ms Bhutto is hitting our right and left. In Sindh the situation she faces is 'do or die'. And nationally she is ready to capitalize on the stunning failure of the cooperative finance corporations and put the total blame for that on the IJI government and embark on a long march from Lahore to Jhelum to discredit the government. She says that a conspiracy had been hatched to kill her husband Asif Zardari as they could not prove any case against him. She alleges that the deposits of the National Industrial Finance Corporation were being sent out to Korea. And Mr Nawaz Sharif, on his part, talks of how the PPP government plundered the country during its 20 month rule.

But Mr Nawaz Sharif is being attacked not only by the Opposition but also by his party-men. Pir Pagaro, who is trying to reorganize his Muslim League, insists that martial law is inevitable and that is the only solution. He breathes too much contempt for the PM. Despite the accord reached with the IJI, its leaders have advised the PM to disband the IJI as he does not take the parties in the alliance into confidence.

The JUI and JUP [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan] leaders have been critical of him. Evidently the PM has to make his choices and make them quick, no matter how unpalatable some of these may be, beginning with completing his cabinet. This drift and concentration on demolishing the opposition cannot continue, without serious damage to the country.

Mr Waseem Sajjad wants the present political system to continue; but it has to work and work well, if it has to survive, and not beg for a longer lease of life.

Personality Conflicts

91AS1569C Lahore *THE NATION* in English
7 Sep 91 p 9

[Article by Rao Rashid: "Pakistani Politics—A Blind Alley"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Fourteenth of August is supposed to be a day when the grateful inhabitants of this 'God-Gifted Land of the Pure' are supposed to rise above their petty squabbles and internecine politics and renew their pledge of loyalty to solidarity with the country. Since the year 1981 when Gen Zia decided to allow the public, then groaning under the martial law boot, to let off some steam and enjoy the freedom of the streets just for one day on the excuse of

celebrating Independence Day, we are supposed to wear our patriotism on our chest or display it on our houses or cars or cycles, practically anything we own on the relevant day each year. True to this legacy the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] Government, the self-proclaimed successor to Ziaul Haq's dictatorship, started a propaganda blitz on TV, Radio and other news media a full month ahead of August 14th, urging the 'faithful' to celebrate the day with 'Islamic fervor, and did succeed in inducing a mass hysteria amongst the fun-starved countrymen of ours. While the ordinary citizens, specially the children, were decorating their houses with flags and buntings and were flying Pakistani flags on their cycles, donkey carts, rehras, tongas, cars and buses, their leaders both in the government and the Opposition decided to celebrate the day in a completely different style. They selected that very day to breathe fire against each other and vowed mutual annihilation.

The government and the Opposition had both fixed big public rallies in Lahore on that day at which important leaders of the two sides liberally scattered their pearls of wisdom. The 'democratically elected' Prime Minister of the country during his speech at the site of Bab-e-Pakistan observed that his blood boiled at the very mention of PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and that he was determined to break it into pieces 'in two strokes(?)'. The Leader of the Opposition who sits in the same assembly of which Mr Nawaz Sharif is the leader declared at Mochi gate that she was waging a Jihad against the IJI Government and was determined to bring it down even if she lost her life in the process. Al-lama Sajid Naqvi of the TNFJ [Tehrik-i-Nifaze Fiqah Jafria] went a step further. He declared that it was a struggle between 'Islam' and Kufr. Such utterances in an already emotionally charged atmosphere pushed the Benazir Bhutto vs. Nawaz Sharif controversy many an unsavory notches up, and a stage was set for a fight to the finish which has dragged the country farther into the fog of political uncertainty.

Before I discuss the genesis of this unseemly tussle between Benazir and Nawaz Sharif I want to ask Mr Nawaz Sharif one simple question. How does it help him to stoke the fire of the Opposition's anger and frustration? The rule of thumb even in sports is that in a fast game like hockey when a side is winning it is advisable for it to slow down the pace of the game so as to retain control. Mr Nawaz Sharif has won the elections—by hook or crook it does not matter as the Opposition has tamely accepted the result. He has been able to form IJI Government at the Center and in all the four provinces. He can, therefore, afford to appear as a sane, sober and sagacious politician. He should get on with the job of governing which is what would ultimately matter. How does it help him to be a rabble-rouser instead is beyond me. He should understand that plurality of political parties is an essential ingredient of democracy and that he became Prime Minister because of it. He must not think that on his becoming Prime Minister, Pakistan has become the jagir of Mian Sharif that he is not prepared to see any opposition party existing in the country. If he

has become a patient of high blood pressure, he should take proper medical treatment rather than threaten the Opposition with annihilation in a fit of hypertension. By the same token Pakistan is also not a Bhutto jagir that Benazir should look upon any one else who becomes Prime Minister as a usurper and should wage a holy war to dislodge him. Such intolerance has no place in democracy and leaders who show such tendency have no right to lead the country.

Coming back to the point, the tone and tenor of speeches delivered on the occasion by the leaders of the two sides has pushed both the sides to the brink. This would, sooner or later, result in a street agitation which may or may not succeed but it would make the country, already difficult to manage, virtually ungovernable. Only two things can happen as a result. Either the assemblies would have to be dissolved and new elections announced, or the army might decide to intervene directly. If the elections are held while Mr GIK [Ghulam Ishaq Khan] is still the President he would certainly repeat his performance and bar PPP's entry into the assemblies as in 1990. This might trigger another PNA [Pakistan National Alliance]-like agitation thus clearing the way for an army takeover. When that happens God alone knows what course the events might take. Even if by some miracle Benazir comes to power as a result of elections, her victory is not going to be complete. The IJI would not accept her as she has not accepted the IJI and there shall be no let-up in the confrontation. While the politicians are busy in this interminable conflict centered around two personalities, the country's problems get more and more compounded adding to the suffering of the people. The question is, for whose benefit is this strife being continued? Leaders of both the sides pretend as if they stand for some very lofty ideals while the other side is out to destroy the country. Let us, therefore, examine whether their differences are based on any principle or programme or are rooted in sheer lust for power of the two main contenders and their henchmen.

There are four areas where difference in policy or programme of the two sides can be felt, namely, defence, foreign affairs, economic and social sectors. There are three important facets of our foreign policy: Afghanistan, Kashmir and our nuclear programme. In all these matters as well as defence expenditure the military has enjoyed a veto power since 1977 and no civilian government in the foreseeable future shall be strong enough to put its own stamp on policies in these sectors. That leaves only economic and social sectors. Even in these fields, except for nuances or lip-service, there is hardly anything to distinguish one party from the other as last three years' record proves.

Before the return of BB [Benazir Bhutto] in April of 1986, PPP both factually and in the minds of the people stood for ZAB's [Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto] anti-Americanism on the external front and a socialist programme on the internal front. During her three years sojourn in London BB mended her fences with the USA by renouncing socialism and embracing the market economy. It was

done without any internal debate or consultation within the party which is a dispensable formality so far as PPP is concerned because 'BB knows best'. The workers of the party were, therefore, flabbergasted when without any warning BB came down with a heavy hand on those workers who in line with the old party policy, burnt American flags and raised anti-American slogans in her processions and public meetings. They were roughed up by PPP's sarkari hoodlums under her instructions and chased out of her processions and public meetings. It was in those days that the committed workers of the party had coined the slogan, Woh bhi maaren tum bhi maro, hai Pajero hai pajero. Anyhow, this 180-degree turn in her policy landed BB squarely in the American camp where she had to compete with Zia and his successors who were already there pursuing the same policies. Thus Pakistani politics, instead of a competition between two opposite ideologies or programmes, was reduced to a sibling rivalry between two proteges of the USA, BB and NS [Nawaz Sharif], who merely competed for their mentor's favor. So long as BB remained in the government she appeared to be a champion of privatization and deregulation. But like many of her resolutions she spent all her energies in articulating the concept and did little in the way of their implementation. Now that Mr Nawaz Sharif has taken big strides towards privatization, she first tried to instigate the workers of the nationalized industries against him but when he took the wind out of her sails and surprised everybody by selling the Allied Bank to the workers she has taken another somersault. She has now turned against Privatization itself and has fallen back on roti, kapra aur makan, PPP's slogan of the seventies. What trust can people repose in a leader who has taken 360-degree turn in a matter of months only she can explain.

In a matching performance Mr Nawaz Sharif is shouting from the roof top day in and day out that he would not rest content until and unless he has converted Pakistan into a truly Islamic welfare state. In actual practice however, he is going full steam ahead to bring back the days of the robber barons of Ayub Khan era. And if his hand is not stayed almost the entire wealth of the country, or what is left of it after the dollar drain, shall be concentrated in a few hands belonging to his class. The socio-economic policies which he is pursuing are not even remotely comparable to the concept of Islamic welfare state which he is preaching. Since General Zia's success in duping the gullible people of Pakistan for eleven long years through hypocrisy and double speak, this art has become a stock in trade of our politicians and the two main contenders to power in the country, Benazir and Nawaz Sharif, have become experts in it. They are both hoodwinking the people, one in the name of Islam and the other in the name of the people. They seldom mean what they say.

A local daily, in a recent survey, has claimed that the country's politics is a captive of just about forty families. In my view the number is even less. But this is not a new phenomenon. The British had created a feudal elite in

India by giving them substantial land grants and had ruled the populace through them. These families were the mainstay of the British Empire in India. The Muslim landlords joined the Muslim League en bloc when they realized that the British were leaving, and they have sided with every party in power since. According to the same survey all these families are closely linked by marriages and their individual members move freely from one political party to the other as dictated by their lust for power. Real brothers or first cousins sit on opposite benches. Almost 1/4th of Benazir's cabinet consisted of people who were associates of General Ziaul Haq, the assassin of her father, while three out of four IJI chief ministers at the moment are those who were PPP ministers in Mr Bhutto's time.

It is quite obvious that the ruling class in the country has now divided itself into two groups with complete freedom of movement inter se so that whichever party comes into power, the class and family interests are safe. One group is headed by Ms Benazir who represents the feudal class and the other by Mian Nawaz Sharif who represents the rising capitalists. It is a tussle not rooted in any policy or programme; it is a fight as to who would control the resources of the country so that those could be husbanded for their own use, or that of the family, or friends or the party-in that order. Four families namely Nawaz Sharif's family, the Saifullah family (related to GIK), Basharat Ilahi (related to Ziaul Haq) and the Zahoor Ilahi family amongst them owe nearly 7,000 million rupees as loans to the nationalized banks. All these loans, with a few exceptions, were obtained when these families were entrenched in the corridors of power. The value of assets which they have made while in power is mind-boggling. There is no estimate of the money made by Ms Benazir, her husband, her father-in-law and her ministers in her time.

Interestingly, only today I was reading an article by BB in a local daily captioned Zamir ka Sawal which is a damning indictment of the President, the Prime Minister and various other IJI Government functionaries. On the other side, the President has already formally charged BB with grave financial misdemeanors through various references which are pending in courts. Not unexpectedly none of these allegations and counter-allegations relate to any political deviation or administrative mishandling or inefficiency. The accusations from either side entirely relate to the misappropriation of public resources by those who are or were in power. It is not certain which side would win the on-going propaganda war, but one thing is settled. It has convinced the general public that the whole lot of politicians is a bunch of crooks and criminals who could not be trusted with the resources of the country which they shall barter away any time for their personal gains. So, if today the army decides to boot out the entire lot and throws them in the dust-bin not a tear would be shed by the people on their departure.

Having tried and found the two main contenders to power lacking in intellectual and financial integrity which should be the first and foremost qualification of a leader, a pall of

despondency has settle on the country. Everyone is now wondering as to how long will the country survive this loot maar. We seem to have entered a blind alley from which there is no way out. If something is not done soon the society may just collapse. We have seen with our own eyes—thanks to the CNN—a superpower disintegrating within days. In case of Pakistan, it has already happened once. We should not, therefore, dismiss such fears as alarmist. Instead we should really start doing something to remedy the situation.

The other day Ms Benazir said something sensible in a long time. She said that the old order was crumbling and there was a need for a new social contract in Pakistan. She suggested that people from all walks of life—politicians, generals, bureaucrats, businessmen and workers—should all sit together and evolve a new political arrangement. This is a sterling proposal. People have lost faith in the ballot. So long as elections are held within the existing framework, only crooks and criminals shall be able to buy or cheat their way into the assemblies with the sole aim of looting the country with both hands. The whole political order, including the political parties' structure, needs overhauling. But who will bell the cat, that is the real dilemma. Every one is convinced of a need for a change in the system but no one can suggest the modality to bring it about. The President has compromised his position by inextricably involving himself in the feud by siding with one party. The generals have no *locus standi* to undertake this task unless they get control of the country. The senior politicians who should be putting their heads together to find a solution have chosen the easy way out by ganging behind BB to bring down Mr Nawaz Sharif. What would a change of face achieve if the system remains the same? Ms Benazir and Mian Nawaz Sharif are two sides of the same coin.

It would be presumptuous on the part of any individual to try to provide answers to all the problems faced by the country. The intellectuals, the retired generals, and bureaucrats and those politicians who are not a party to Benazir vs Nawaz Sharif feud should take the initiative. They should sit together and draw up a blueprint of a suitable political order after consulting all the segments of the society, including the army, and demand the holding of a referendum to bring about the desired changes in the system in a constitutional manner. If it is not done soon the country, I fear, might face a very grave constitutional crisis threatening its very existence.

Democracy Tenuous

91AS1569D Lahore THE NATION in English
10 Sep 91 p 6

[Article by Ikram Sehgal: "Can Democracy Survive?"]

[Text] Politics and economics are irreversibly intertwined, one has no substance without the other. Given the track record of IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] in economic affairs, the Nawaz Sharif Government should be politically stable, yet it is in the area of their greatest

expertise that the government is mired in trouble. The reasons can be traced back to the first years of the last Martial Law when a new breed of white-collar criminals discovered an extremely sophisticated method of making easy money from the gullible masses by establishing illegal investment companies, giving out large sums as "profit". We are now in the third scam period of the illegal finance companies in the last decade or so. This one has the potential of destabilizing the democratic government. For any country, the collapse of an elected administration is always a tragedy.

Following the controversial removal of Ms Benazir in August 1990, we expected that the purported reason for her downfall, corruption, would be exposed as promised. In the circumstances, her legal defence team has organized an effective filibuster to the Presidential References, delaying judicial conclusion to the allegations levied against her. The cooperative finance companies scandal has thus been gleefully seized by the Opposition as an effective counter-offensive mechanism and Ms Benazir has last week been on a turkey shoot of the IJI Government's credibility through Nawaz Sharif's political backyard, the Punjab. While this does not necessarily countenance alleged misdemeanors, it serves to put the whole democratic process into disrepute. Luminaries of the Opposition have also been "mentioned in despatches". This may be a case of individual greed of the unscrupulous, taking advantage of the trappings of power, or there was collaboration by those in power in the misdemeanor. The former is probably closer to the truth than the latter, but there is a fundamental erosion in the credibility of the political hierarchy.

There is need for immediate damage control. If there is a cancer in the body politic then it must be removed before it spreads uncontrollably. From 1985 onwards, democracy of that sort has existed in Pakistan, gaining momentum despite major hiccups along the route. Ms Benazir's ascent to power was greeted by the mass of people as an authentication of the democratic process. For many reasons, some of her own making, most made by her political aides and friendly opportunists who rode into power with her, her government reverted to "business" as usual. Among with anticipation of change from usual corrupt practices, this came as a profound shock to the intelligentsia and the masses, thereby releasing a backlash. True or otherwise, her husband became the focal point of white-collar financial manipulations for individual profit; the mixture of facts and fiction was blown out of proportion. While matters are subjudice, one should not comment on the judicial process for fear of slanting the judgement. Asif Zardari did not, at the very least, exercise good judgement or discretion that should have been required from the husband of the Prime Minister [PM]. Politically, the rank and file of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] have paid grievously for it.

The "Asif Zardari model" should have fallen under the heading of "Lessons Learnt". Rumors, probably unfair, now swirl in earnest around Shahbaz Sharif, who cannot get rid of the "talented brother" image despite the fact that he has an individual political mandate of his own. Nawaz

Sharif comes across as the human face of the Sharif Brothers while, whether through deliberate design or a simple fact of life, Shahbaz Sharif is perceived as the "iron fist". If anything, Gohar Ayub Khan, the present Speaker of the National Assembly, was once considered to be the prime reason for the ultimate downfall of his father, Field Marshall Ayub Khan. A vicious plethora of rumors, more fiction than fact, sullied the name of an extremely benevolent dictator, the supposed sins of the son being unfortunately visited on an illustrious father. Between 1968 and 1988, there were rumors galore about people in power and their scions or friends but no political reaction was possible because of the authoritarian rule. Allegations remained subdued, some by the use of coercion, some simply because they could not be substantiated.

As the process of democracy set in and media cynosure became more commonplace, misdemeanors have become more difficult to hide. Freshly educated in the freedom of speech, mass protests tend to become more vocal, even strident. Taking the initiative after months in the political doldrums, Ms Benazir is now on the offensive and in her element. Last week she took the Punjab by storm and for a time the non-plussed government had few answers. As is usual with the PPP when they are on a roll, a fatal mistake is made by not maintaining the momentum. Ms Benazir has confounded all and sundry by taking off for France, albeit because of a previous engagement. The Federal and Punjab Governments have used this respite by forcing the cooperative finance companies to return deposits to customers, at least partially.

Because of Ms Benazir's "time-out", this potential political time-bomb may end up being a storm in a teacup but this is the third occasion that the Punjab Government has been shaken in the last quarter, the first two being the MPA [Member of Provincial Assembly]-traffic cop tangle and the Islampura murders. If a government is so susceptible that it tends to topple at every hiccup, then those who want to bring it down will only escalate their efforts.

In the case of Punjab, Nawaz Sharif has made the same mistake that was made by Ms Benazir with respect to Sindh when she was in power. Ghulam Haider Wyne may be a good man and a respectable politician, he does not exude the confidence of being his own master. The perception arises of that of a front man, having virtually no independence. While maintaining control over the vital political ground, surely among the many associates of the PM there must be others blessed with the twin qualities of loyalty and capability. If nothing else and Shahbaz Sharif being capable, why not instal him as the CM [Chief Minister] and be done with the charade? At least he has a reputation of getting things done.

Sindh remains the Federal Government's soft underbelly. Without any doubt the Jam Government has, in close association with the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], established firm control over the crime situation in the urban areas of Sindh, particularly Karachi. A

great number of kidnappers and dacoit gangs have been busted in Karachi. The crime graph, in this respect has fallen sharply but this has been possible at a high cost. The rural area is under a state of siege from dacoit gangs and elements of the law-enforcing agencies are getting out of control for their own individual gains. This is fatal for democracy. The constant erosion of the principles that we uphold goes on till we end up destroying the institution of democracy we are pledged to secure.

The present political infighting has seen the institution of the Presidency being increasingly besmirched. Both the major parties willingly collaborated in the choosing of the present head of the state for a five-year term. We should preclude bringing the President's person and office into disrepute. Charges by PPP that the President has been partisan may have some truth, controversy about the President's august office brings into ridicule the whole country, opening up an institutional Pandora's box. A non-executive President, elected by the exercise of free vote, acts as a final arbiter and is representative of the Federation's unity. Making him into a party, calls for interference by the third forces. Such interdiction may be entirely unpalatable for democracy in the long run. It is the democratic right of the PPP to strive for power, as it is the democratic right of the IJI to strive to stay in power. All this is very well while the political equivalent of the Marquess of Queensbury rules are adhered to. When the bitterness and vituperation spills over into a no-holds barred situation, matters tend to become murky.

There are two major political groups, the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] (headed by the PPP) and the IJI, led by the PML [Pakistan Muslim League]. If both are discredited and so is the President then we might as well resign ourselves to an unthinkable third alternative, whatever may be the reservations of the personalities concerned and whatever they may profess about their commitment to democracy. Such an eventuality would not be to the benefit of any individual or group, least of all to the nation. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that emotions are cooled down and an attempt for compromise is made so that democracy can survive. Both Nawaz Sharif and Ms Benazir are elected leaders, their legitimacy has basis in the exercise of adult franchise by the masses. Would they persist in remaining so myopic as not to perceive what can come to pass if matters deteriorate further? The worst kind of democracy is still better than the best that any martial law can offer, yet the ultimate perception of the masses may be that martial law would be better than having no county at all. While the pressure on the government to expedite solutions to problems must be maintained, the government itself must do a self-analysis and get back into the political mainstream by instituting self-accountability. The survival of democracy in Pakistan is tenuous at best, it behoves all of us that this institution of our individual and collective freedom does not wither.

IJI Needs Reform

91AS1569E Lahore *THE NATION* in English
2 Sep 91 p 7

[Article by Inayatullah: "IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] Agenda in a Confrontation Scenario"]

[Text] There is a method in the madness of politics in Pakistan.

In the fifties, it was sheer political incompetence born of complacency as if after the achievement of independence, the political process will somehow take care of itself and nothing untoward will happen. October 1958 came as a rude shock. The new rulers did not believe in the government of the people and by the people. The government in their philosophy was, for the people. And good of bad, people must accept it. It was forgotten that sooner or later and in a free country sooner than later, people assert themselves. It did not take too long for the dictators to realize how fragile was their hold on power. As a people's hero Bhutto had in his grip a great opportunity to lay the foundation of a democratic order. Being essentially a wadera and having been a protege of Ayub Khan, his western education could not restrain him from turning into a political overlord. His socialism was found to be a thin veneer for his excessive love for power which revealed itself first in the imposition of a civil martial law, followed by a massive nationalization and later by the creation of a private army headed by a police officer. His historic contribution—the Constitution of 1973 lost its spirit with his frequent amendments and deliberate rigging of elections in 1977. The people just would not accept this blatant high-handedness. For days he hid himself inside the four walls of his governor's house in Lahore. He dare not face the people. He dilly-dallied with the demands of the Opposition for months till a reluctant General (his own hand-picked COAS [Chief of Army Staff]) took over and literally wiped him out. The new ruler lacked legitimacy. He decided to don the Islamic mantle and created a constituency for himself amongst the ulema and the mashaikh. He was a shrewd operator. He brought in an Islamic Council of consultants and later resorted to party-less election. Finding that his Prime Minister was straining at the leash to secure real power, he threw him out. His sudden departure and his successor's self-restraint opened the door for the much-awaited multiparty national elections. Riding on a wave of popularity, Benazir entered the portals of power. Her real constraint was not so much the other centers of power but her own ineptitude and lack of competence. Insecurity and mismanagement saw her out. She was eased away via Ziaul Haq's 8th Amendment. The new elections brought in her arch-rival whom she had tried hard to dislodge as Chief Minister.

Nawaz Sharif's rise to the office of the Prime Minister was much too big a shock for her to absorb. The elections must have been rigged. The, however, would not mobilize protest. No processions, no mass movement to undo

the wrong. She and her party members joined the new Assemblies and took the oath of office as Members. But in her heart of hearts she just would not accept the IJI government. The Presidential references in the courts had begun to bite. Her husband's prosecution and incarceration was much too painful. Nawaz Sharif government must be toppled by all means fair or foul.

The last 10 months of politics in Pakistan is a case-study of how a frustrated Opposition works (though unsuccessfully) in a Third World country to destabilize and bring down a government enjoying overwhelming majority in the Parliament. All possible tricks of the trade have been used. These include disinformation, use of the Press, blowing out of all proportion government's weaknesses, faults and indiscretions, exploiting to the full, its difficulties and dilemmas about such complex and challenging issues as the economic situation, the rising prices, law and order, the nuclear option and the enforcement of Shariat. In addition positive achievements of the government were criticized and ridiculed. And every effort made to sow discord in the IJI ranks and wean away component parties. A belated attempt was launched to question the elections (since accepted by all foreign governments). When nothing really worked the army was openly invited to take over. Let the baby be thrown out with the bath-water. This stratagem also failed.

For Benazir, what deep down, matters most, is (a) the court cases against her and Asif Zardari and (b) the way Jam is nibbling at the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] in Sindh. As the court references are linked with President's order of dismissal of Benazir's government and Jam's doings have an implicit approval of the Federal government it may be unrealistic to expect a climb-down or a reversal to take place.

The show-down at Lahore on August 14 (Mochi Gate and Walton "gate") has merely carried the process further. Fortified by the support of such out-of-work agitators as Nasrullah Khan, Khar Qasim and Zahid Sarfraz, she is now proclaiming a war against the government. That she indulged in such crude expressions as "Oe Ishaqia" "Nawazu" and calling the latter a "coward" is indicative of how desperate she now is. From now on she would spurn offers of reconciliation. The way ahead was open confrontation. That Nawaz Sharif too in his speech minced no words and vowed to "tear PPP apart" confirms the impression that doors of compromise and accommodation are, at least for the time being, closed.

It may be worthwhile to ponder how may democracy be served and strengthened in the emerging situation of confrontation and conflict. Without doubt, the major responsibility for strengthening democratic traditions falls on those in power. If the Opposition for reasons of their own are itching for a fight how should those in command, act and behave? Here below is some loud thinking.

(I). The IJI should immediately undertake a totally honest and unadulterated analysis of the grievances of the PPP and other Opposition parties and leaders and

seek to redress with speed and a sense of equity all genuine complaints to the satisfaction of the aggrieved parties. The immediacy and primacy of this exercise can hardly be exaggerated.

(II). All possible and permissible efforts should be made to expedite disposal of court references and cases against Benazir and her husband. The government, time and again, expresses its concern for speedy trials. Why should the aforementioned cases continue to hang fire, for so long.

(III). (i) IJI as an alliance should function more visibly as a cohesive body. Differing points of view on various issues should be sorted out on a continuing basis. A Conflict Resolution Cell should be established to help process the differences.

(ii) A charter of consensus on points and programmes should be drawn out and a timetable prepared to implement such programmes. Matters where consensus fails to be evolved may be placed before a committee for consideration and resolution. A case in point is the enforcement of the Shariat in Pakistan.

(IV). Political differences between the component parties should be taken up by a Standing Committee of the IJI with the Prime Minister as its Chairman. Remedial steps should be taken before the situation gets out of hand. (The current adversarial relationship between the IJI and MQM should be sorted out by the Committee without delay).

(V). An on-going intelligence assessment and understanding of the thinking and planning of the Opposition—its strategies and tactics should be the basis of a well-thought-out counter-programme which may anticipate and adequately cope with the emerging developments and exigencies.

(VI). There is need for an honest and aggressive approach to disinformation fed by the Opposition or other elements. Prompt and competent countering of subtle insinuations or outright accusations is necessary.

(VII). The government should not hesitate to highlight its achievements in the media and on public platforms and institutions. No dishonest or exaggerated claims need be projected. The government should fully avail of the modern art and techniques of information and communication.

(VIII). Sindh demands special attention. The Prime Minister, along with Sindhi Federal Ministers, should sit with the Sindh Chief Minister (in Karachi, Hyderabad and other places in Sindh) regularly at least twice a month, to examine complaints of political and administrative manipulations and oppression. Wide publicity should be given to these meetings. Wherever necessary, members of the Opposition should also be invited to participate in the discussions. Nothing shady or undemocratic should be allowed to go unexamined. All those violating laws and rules should be given exemplary punishment.

(IX). Law and order must continue to be priority No 1 for the Nawaz Sharif government. Success in this field has become an acid test for its competence and legitimacy. There should be no let-up and no leniency. All resources of the government should be pressed into service for providing security to the citizens.

(X). The centrality of the elected Assemblies for debating national (and provincial) issues and initiating legislation must be recognized and respected. Parliamentary rules and procedures should be strictly followed (The manner of the passage of the 12th Amendment has revealed a mindset unmindful of the sanctity of the Parliamentary traditions). Resort to ordinances should be minimal.

(XI). A climate should be created in which anyone seducing or appealing to the army to play a political role is immediately and roundly condemned in the media and at various public forums and institutions. It may, in fact, be appropriate to pass a law for the prosecution of those indulging in such undesirable pursuits.

(XII). The Islamic tradition and the current economic situation demand austerity and avoidance of extravagance and waste at all levels. The top leadership must set an example. However attractive the ideas be, this is not the time for raising expensive grandiose memorials. We just can't afford the luxury of prosperous times. Just now priorities should be in line with our essential needs and scarce resources.

A golden opportunity has come to the IJI to serve and strengthen Pakistan. The government has adequate political strength and overall support to undertake the great task of reform and reconstruction. It need not be unduly bothered about the noise the Opposition makes or the irritation caused by their barbs and pin-pricks and get on with the job to invigorate the democratic order and seek to build a strong and prosperous society. All that is needed is a clear vision, a resolute will and requisite skills.

It is time for the IJI to ruthless review their thinking and conduct, take necessary remedial steps and rededicate themselves to the welfare of the people of Pakistan.

IJI Threatens, Abuses

91AS1569F Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 29 Aug 91 pp 1, 8

[Article by Ikram Hoti: "Politics of Threats and Victimization"]

[Text] There has not been a single day during the government of IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance], without a threat hurled by a minister, a chief minister or the prime minister, on political opponents. Even those holding no government office and enjoying a status of being at the head of a component IJI party, have been and continue to, threaten those opposing the government's policies or unconstitutional, anti-basic rights actions and legislation.

Most of these threats were aimed at the PPP and its co-chairperson. Some of them boomeranged in that they were met by public annoyance. Of late, these threats have been more harsh-worded and even immoral. Those who read newspapers regularly, may have fresh in memory the remarks passed by the prime minister's adviser on information, Sheikh Rashid Ahmad, against the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] chief...moral code does not allow going to the print with words uttered by the adviser. This man had, at a public meeting in Peshawar (during general elections campaign), had questioned the former prime minister, Benazir Bhutto's invitation to former chief minister of Punjab, Nawaz Sharif, for talks, saying, "she also invited his (Nawaz's) brother to the meeting. What did she want?"

Those who can to that far in a public meeting, could not be guided by any sense of morality and it is but natural that they hurl threats on the political opponents in words recently used by none else but the prime minister, "I will tear PPP into pieces." For a journalist, it is unforgivable to take sides, particularly in a situation when none of the opposing sides qualify for favor. But it would be another crime to overlook the fact that the side proving oblivious to any limits in antagonism, might destroy the very fabric of policy and institutions, which have enabled it to demonstrate political mobility and launch maneuvers to stay longer in power. And it has to be determined which of the two opposing political forces is posing stronger challenge to the existence of the democratic institutions in the country.

IJI leaders have not been issuing threats and showering abuses only on the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] leaders. Heads of component IJI parties have been making statements which tantamount to open bid to blackmail. Though words chosen for such statements have not been that pointed and immoral but the tendency of resorting to such a course has amply proved the opposition's claim that the ruling syndicate's credibility was questionable from day on. A closer analysis of the IJI leadership's indulging in politics of threats and the intra-party struggle based on methods applied in blackmail, helps deduce that the menace is natural outcome of the credibility syndrome haunting the rulers and their partners. A group of political parties inducted with an unprecedentedly strong mandate is never supposed to adopt methods applied by the IJI government.

And now, the Sindh chief minister, Jam Sadiq Ali, whose power originated in naked and ruthless suppression of the public mandate, has broadened the scope of this politics. He did not stop at what methods of intimidation he has been and continues to apply against the opponents in the province of Sindh. The only institution that proved un-yielding to these methods, was the press in the private sector, trying to offer a true picture of what was and is happening in Sindh. There have recently been incidents of murders which led to create harassment among the journalist community. Reporters and correspondents of newspapers were killed and there was no action against those who committed these murders.

Statements and threats issued to journalists in Karachi and Lahore, recently by an ethnic political organization, revealed clearly who could have done it.

By asking THE FRONTIER POST correspondent in Hyderabad, to convey a threat to the newspaper's chief editor, Jam Sadiq Ali clearly demonstrated his further designs against the press which has been one of the forces questioning the legality of some actions taken by the Sindh chief minister. THE FRONTIER POST has been, Jam Sadiq's annoyance with it showed, offering a nearly true picture of the Sindh under IJI-MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] rule, which never gained credibility in public eye though it has been able to play the worst kind of horse-trading leading to announcement of support to the Jam government by some PDA parliamentarians. Jam Sadiq Ali must have been impatient in seeing the press to follow suit, ignoring the fact that journalists and newspapers do not get elected to be part of a government or a political syndicate ruling without genuine mandate.

PPP Paper Calls for Internal Elections

91AS1392D Karachi AMN in Urdu 4 Aug 91 p 2

[Article by Jumma Khan: "The Opposition Wants To Change Government; Does Not Know How"]

[Text] The opposition leaders are making statements that indicate that their desire and aim is to change the government. However, their statements also show their mental anguish, and it appears that they cannot find any appropriate strategy to reach their goal. Thus, they have begun to talk without thinking first, and they are making extremely antidemocratic statements. All of this will merely pave the way for another martial law regime that would be suicidal for all politicians.

Now they have emerged with three major demands: the replacing Nawaz Sharif with another person as prime minister, holding new elections while dismissing Nawaz Sharif's government, and forming a new national government.

The opposition leaders also said that the danger of war is increasing along the borders, and the law-and-order situation is 20 to 25 times worse than it was last year. They are accusing Ghulam Ishaq Khan of wrongdoings during the last elections.

The politicians who have asked the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) to change its leader did not even consider that the IJI may not have any problem with its leader. If it had a problem with its leader, he would not have been prime minister now. There is no doubt that some IJI leaders are not happy with some of the government's activities, and that they have also been criticizing the government. But this does not call for a change in leadership. When the people who were opposed to the Twelfth Amendment were angry at their leader, they could have given him a hard time in the National Assembly. However, more votes than necessary were cast in support of the bill. It shows that Prime Minister

Nawaz Sharif has a very strong hold on the IJI, and no other leader can challenge his leadership at this point.

As for holding new elections by dismissing the government, the opposition leaders themselves are saying that lawlessness is rampant in the country, and that the danger of war is increasing at our borders. At the same time, they are demanding that we hold new elections. If there is no law and order in the country, and the danger of India's aggression is increasing, then how can elections be held? The opposition does not trust the police, and the question of getting the assistance of the armed forces during the election does not arise because, according to the opposition, there is a danger of Indian aggression. The armed forces should be alert at the borders when there is such a danger.

Now there is the issue of a national government!

The national government can be formed if the interests of all parties are protected, keeping in view the interests of the nation and if a gentlemen's agreement is made, so that everyone will have their rights and the politics of revenge is buried. The national government can bring about major changes in a short period of time. However, the elements that are involved in such ugly conspiracy just to satisfy their hunger for power think that the proposal for a national government is a move on the political chessboard that checks the king. This will not leave room for any other move, and the game would be lost.

The forces that have divided every significant political party into at least two factions and have made several groups in major political parties are conspiring to cause rebellion within the only organized party. They will never want all politicians to unite. The arms of such forces are very long, and their agents are omnipresent. Their job is to hover around big leaders and force them to make mistakes so that they can satisfy their masters.

When the 1988 general election results were declared, General Mirza Aslam Baig, Chief of Army Staff, had proposed the formation of a national government. At that time, Benazir Bhutto, the leader of the largest elected party, the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], rejected this very important proposal without consulting with the central council. Now some veteran politicians have presented the proposal for forming a national government. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had summarily rejected it without consulting IJI leaders and without looking at its various aspects. There is no danger to him or IJI political control in the proposal for a national government. This would help in controlling political enemies, and the much-damaged constitution could also be changed into a well-written document.

It is important for political rivals to have understanding and cooperation in order to make democratic institutions strong and to maintain democracy. If a powerful national government is formed as a result of it, then it would be a major accomplishment in our history and will change the fate of our nation.

It is ridiculous to think that just because some opposition leaders are demanding it, the IJI will replace Nawaz Sharif with another leader. It is not possible at this time at all. The way Mr. Chandra Shekhar had rebelled against V.P. Singh, the former Indian prime minister, and had formed a coalition with the help of many Parliament members to dethrone V.P. Singh is similar to the way another leader here could rebel against Mr. Nawaz Sharif's IJI government to force his government out with the help of National Assembly members.

As for the new elections, the present situation is not conducive to elections. Our country just cannot afford to have general elections every other year. One bad result of changing governments in a hurry is that no government gets the opportunity to implement its developmental plans. Every government fails in implementing its political program, and no long-term development work can be done. Progress cannot be made, and the people get disenchanted with political parties. Against this background, talking about another election is not appropriate.

The strange thing is that the politicians who speak of new elections had also accused President Ghulam Ishaq Khan repeatedly about misappropriations during the elections, and had also said that the president had used the election commission for all these wrongdoings.

If Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's government is suspended and an announcement of new elections is made, as per the desires of the opposition, then the president would still be in his position, and the election would still be managed by the election commission. Could there not be wrongdoings and misappropriations again, as in the past?

In this situation, what will the opposition gain by holding new elections? Perhaps it would gain additional seats, and some faces among the elected legislators would change. If the president has established balance in the present government, then there will be no change in the present balance.

If the opposition has decided after a lot of thought that it wants elections every other year, then it should start a campaign for reforming the election process itself. Before demanding new elections, it should ask that the election commission be changed, and such election laws be passed that would leave no room for dishonesty in elections. Until and unless it succeeds in these efforts, it should not even mention general elections. After all, the results of such elections would be the same as the elections of the past.

Mrs. Benazir Bhutto, the opposition leader, and other politicians who advocate new elections should place their hands on their hearts and honestly answer this question: If President Ghulam Ishaq Khan accepts their demand and dismisses this government, appoints Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi as caretaker prime minister again, and orders the election commission and its machinery to hold new elections, then will there be corruption and wrongdoings in these new elections or

not? If such misappropriations happen, what kind of election results will there be?

The political leaders who are demanding new elections should also consider another aspect. If an announcement of new elections is made, will the political parties be ready to participate in those elections? None of these parties have done any homework to prepare themselves for sudden elections. Most of them do not have the financial resources to participate in an election. What is the benefit of new elections under such circumstances?

It is ironic that the political parties included in the government and those included in the opposition consider themselves to be democratic, and tell us that their mutual differences have resulted from democratic action. They also call their political tug of war the result of democracy. According to them, all of their campaigns are the result of it. However, none of these political parties practice democracy in their own organizations.

All of these political parties have rules and regulations, but they do not follow them. No campaigns to recruit members are carried out, and their own elections are not held with the votes of their members. If a position is vacated, instead of filling it with an election, they simply appoint another person. There is no discipline in these parties, and no one monitors the activities of various position holders. There is no organized system for collecting funds by the affiliated regional parties. No one gets any promotions based on his hard work and service; all higher positions are awarded based on sycophancy and money. All central positions were awarded to different people like they were bequests. No campaigns are carried out to educate the people about politics. These parties have no departments for social service. They have no system to directly listen to people's complaints and follow-up on them. All they do is brag about being democratic, and follow the system of "paper politics," or simply make statements to newspapers so that every politician could prove that he is 52 yards tall!

Our government has not even finished one year and the demand for new elections is already made. The political leaders who are making these demands should tell Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif that they will also hold elections within their own political parties, and that a law should be passed that would not allow the political parties that do not follow a democratic system in their own organizations to participate in the general elections.

Possible Realignments Among Parties Viewed
91AS1576A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
11 Sep 91 p 5

[Article by Murtaza Malik: "Local Bodies Polls: Is New Grand Alliance in the Offing?"]

[Text] Peshawar, Sept. 10—The mini group of the Muslim League [ML] splinters and the Jamaat-e-Islami [JI], after having signed an agreement to put up joint candidates in the forthcoming LB [local bodies] polls in

Peshawar, are now exploring the possibility of a grand alliance with the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] and the JUI (F) [Jamiat-i-Ulema-Islam] to match the expected combined strength of the ANP [Awami National Party] and the Muslim League.

The ML-JI agreement covers the election for the Municipal Corporation and the District Council making it strictly a local affair while the groupings in the other districts could be far different. The Muslim League splinters claim that they had held several rounds of talks with the PDA and these were moving in the right direction. But the PDA, whose main component was the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], was insisting that its minor partners including the TNFJ [Tehrik Nifazi-Fiqa-h-i-Jafaria] and the Tehrike Istiqlal, should also be accommodated. This however had not been accepted by the mini alliance and the issue was now being examined on a seat to seat basis after which it will be taken up at the joint meeting within the next three to four days. Similarly, the possibility of a working arrangement with the JUI (F), could not also be ruled out.

The Muslim Leaguers, entering into alliance with the JI and knocking at the doors of the PDA without waiting for the party decision regarding the LB polls, complained that they had been thrown out of the party and hence were compelled to plan their strategy independently. The Muslim League high command in the province however categorically refuted the allegation and said that this small group of leaguers which was more or less a family affair and that too out of compulsion, had not been expelled from the party though they could be proceeded against for violating the party discipline on several occasions.

The splinters had reportedly taken the initiative for the election alliance, after a go-ahead signal from a former Governor who had finally involved himself in the politicking at the lowest tier. According to insiders the agreement between his group of Muslim League and the Jamaat, was the result of his purely personal equation with the Jamaat. The JI incidentally was the only political support he could possibly rely on, otherwise he stood completely isolated within his own party. His group said that it was not participating in the enrolment drive of the party.

According to a heavyweight splinter, the presence of TNFJ in the PDA may make formation of the grand alliance difficult as the Tehrik would not like to align itself with any party enjoying the backing of a former Governor for obvious reasons. But this problem, he hoped, could be sorted out by the PDA.

JI Opposing Denationalization

91AS1557D Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
27 Aug 91 p 3

[News Report: "Lawlessness Spreading in Punjab"]

[Text] Lahore (Special Correspondent)—The Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) celebrated its 50th Anniversary with a meeting at Mochi Darwaza. They passed six resolutions

at that meeting. The resolutions were approved unanimously. The first resolution called for implementation of Shari'a rule. The second concerned the Kashmir problem; the third, the Afghanistan problem; the fourth, corruption in finance corporations; the fifth, establishment of law and order; and the last, provision of better conditions for laborers. Dr. Sayyed Asad Gailani, the coordinator of the meeting, said while discussing the first resolution that this huge meeting of the JI [Jamaat-i-Islami] of Punjab indicates support for the mandate which was given to the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) by the nation in 1988 and 1990. The salient and most important part of this mandate was implementation of the Koranic laws and the Shari'a form of government. The Senate passed the Shari'a bill for this purpose, and for this very reason, the prime minister called a joint session of the Parliament on 10 April 1991 and repeated his promise, proclaiming very loudly to the nation that along with passing the Shari'a bill and amending the Constitution, the Koranic laws would become the supreme laws of the nation. Later, the shape in which the Shari'a bill was presented to Parliament, and the disagreement that stalled the amendment bill in Parliament caused great concern in the nation. This meeting is asking the government to amend the Constitution, and, without any delay, make Koranic law the supreme law of the nation. The Shari'a act must be amended so that the high courts of the nation have the right to impart justice according to Shari'a laws. The Shari'a's Articles 3, 20, and 21 should be removed, because these could create loopholes in the Shari'a bill. All monetary transactions with interest should be completely banned. He said that this gathering would warn the government and Parliament that the government was won on the promise of establishing a Shari'a type of government system. If this government fails to keep its promise, then all the religious politicians in the nation will be forced to organize the people and take action against the government for not obeying the mandate given to it by the people.

While presenting the resolution about the Kashmir problem, he said that this gathering of JI expresses allegiance to the Muslim brothers of Jammu and Kashmir in their religious war. They commend the Kashmiri mujahiddin for their struggle to get their rights. The atrocities, murders, and arsons committed by the Indian army and its border force have passed all limits of bestiality. The present situation calls for the government to be taken into full confidence over the Kashmir issue. The government, all political parties, and the religious groups must agree on the policy of supporting Kashmiri Muslims, and to take some bold action. They should not delay in helping the Kashmiris. The resolution said that should India attack Pakistan, as per its frequent threats, then the whole Islamic population of Pakistan will fight it in unison, and will defeat all its aggressive efforts. They asked the government of Pakistan to find a political solution for the Kashmir issue, and also to be prepared for Indian military attack. It should alert the armed forces to the danger of raising its head across the border.

In the resolution about Afghanistan, they said that the Afghan mujahiddin have written a new history with their sacrifices for freedom. However, the United States, the Soviet Union, and other imperialist powers are deterring them from enjoying the fruits of their hard work. These imperialist powers want to establish a secular and anti-Islamic government instead of an Islamic government of the mujahiddin in Afghanistan. Such a government would protect their interests. Therefore, it is important that our government provide moral, diplomatic, and political support to the mujahiddin so they can establish a real representative Islamic government in Afghanistan.

In the resolution about corruption in finance corporations, they said that in a recent meeting held under the auspices of JI, concern was expressed over the possibility of losing 16 billion rupees invested by the people in 100 different finance corporations. According to those present at this meeting, the situation is even more deplorable, because such an organized fraud against the people was carried out for the third time. In spite of these painful results, no arrangements were made for legal protection of these depositors. The government and the state bank of Pakistan should take the responsibility for this neglect and delay. A solution to this problem should be found on an emergency footing.

The affected people demand from the Punjab government a return of their deposits from these corporations. However, the Punjab government, which had demonstrated negligence and inefficiency in the past, said that the only thing it could do was to send legal notices to these corporations. This gathering demanded from the prime minister of Pakistan and the chief minister of Punjab not to sit quietly like silent spectators. They should take some action to protect the life savings of the poor people. It was said in the resolution that some influential political dynasties were involved in the present fraud carried out by the cooperative unions. These dynasties have always looted the poor, hiding behind every government.

These people have borrowed heavy amounts from national banks during every government's rule, and have never returned them. About 25 years ago, they established hundreds of finance companies and took away billions of rupees from the people. Now again, influential politicians and people in the government have carried out another historic economic fraud. In a few seconds, they took away the life savings accumulated from the hard work of 700,000 people. In order to stop this cursed business forever, an iron hand should deal with these fraudulent investors in such a way that it gives a lesson to everyone.

In another resolution, concern was expressed about the law-and-order situation in the whole nation. Sindh has been suffering from total anarchy for a long time. Lawlessness in Punjab is also increasing rapidly. All this will prove dangerous to the progress and security of our nation. The government's failure in controlling the situation cannot be excused. We have elected governments in states and at the Center. The people rightfully expect

the JJI government to protect the life, respect, and property of the citizens. However, as time passes, innocent citizens are suffering from a lack of law and order. Murders and arson have become commonplace. Kidnappings for ransom, robberies, and terrorism have increased. The citizens are full of fear, suffering, and a feeling of lack of security. The notorious business of selling women under the patronship of landlords in Rahim Yar Khan and Kasur districts cannot be condemned enough. The government has to accept this law-and-order situation as a challenge. The resolution said that innocent people and children were mercilessly killed in their homes in Islampura and Sheikhpora. The prime minister announced that these murderers would be apprehended within 48 hours. However, these merciless criminals have not been arrested to this date. There is no man around who could arrest these murderers and punish them according to the law. This gathering considers the situation a cause of great concern and sorrow. This situation is a bold example of our government's weakness and inefficiency. These incidents also demoralize the people.

In another resolution, they said that all laborers in Pakistan were suffering greatly. The living condition of laborers was worsening every day. However, the government is treating this very important group shabbily. Even after one year has passed, the government has not kept its promise of establishing a minimum monthly salary of 3,000 [rupees], nor has it provided any amenities to the laborers. The government is making excuses about establishing some kind of labor policy. High prices have made the lives of laborers miserable. Landlords treat the industrial laborers very cruelly. None of the government departments follow legal requirements. Unemployment is increasing rapidly in the country. The government should create more employment opportunities. Instead, it is leaving even the employed people at the mercy of financiers in the name of denationalization. The actions of the government have not only increased unemployment, but also are increasing the possibility of the establishment of a capitalist form of economic system. Instead of encouraging the trade unions, the government is interfering in their work through its agents. The government is encouraging some unregistered employees who are not represented in the Punjab Road Transport Corporation and other industrial organizations. It is helping them to destroy the CBA [expansion not given] union. Since last year, murders and other atrocities were committed in this organization, trade union representatives were falsely accused of these murders, and cases were registered against them. This step by the government clearly shows that it is not a friend of the laborers.

This glorious and huge meeting of the JI of Punjab demands that the government announce a fair labor policy. It should make sure that labor unions function properly, the announcement be made to set the minimum salary at 3,000 rupees per month, and stop all interference in trade unions by the government.

IJI, JI Relations Examined*91AS1557C Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 27 Aug 91 p 6*

[Column by Rauf Tahir: "Separation From IJI"]

[Text] Soon after Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's committee left Mansura, Mrs. Benazir's negotiation committee arrived there. Mr. Faruq Lagari and Khawaja Tariq Rahim came as the representatives of Jamaat-i Islami (JI) with a message from their leader. Many years ago, Mr. Faruq Lagari had visited Mansura to talk with Qazi Hussain Ahmed when the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] was being established. At that time, Qazi Ahmed was general secretary of the JI. Mr. Lagari had come to ask for political cooperation from the JI. However, he did not succeed in his objective. It is said that the world revolves around hope. They also said that there is never a last word in politics. So Mr. Faruq Lagari is back in Mansura, and this time he has brought with him Khawaja Tariq Rahim. This is the same Khawaja Rahim who, during the MRD era, was a very active member of General Zia's Majlis-i Shura.

The dissatisfaction of the JI cannot be hidden, in spite of several policies and steps taken by Nawaz Sharif's government. The situation is so bad that JI's top policy-making group, Central Majlis-i Shura, has told the president of the JI to discuss relations with the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] on its own. He has been given the authority to separate JI from the IJI any time he thinks it appropriate. However, the Central Majlis-i Shura has also asked IJI's chief, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, to explain five issues before they make the final decision.

1. Does he want to keep the IJI or end it now since the elections are over and he has been appointed prime minister?
2. If he wants to keep it, then will he accept the responsibility to effectively organize the IJI branches at state and district levels, and will the IJI get the proper recognition that it deserves?
3. Is he willing to implement the election manifesto of the IJI in his government?
4. If another party is included in the IJI after the approval of the central council of the IJI, then will he be willing to demand that the newly entered party follow the IJI mandate?
5. Persons associated with the Jamaat-i Islami are being killed in Sindh's urban areas. Their houses are being burned. People are being kidnapped and tortured. The state administration is not only just watching from the sidelines, but also encourages it. It does not help the victims; instead, it arrests them and involves them in false cases. These people are put into jails and accused of crimes they never committed. Will the prime minister take effective steps to apprehend such criminals, regardless of what party or group they belong to?

These five questions are very important to the JI, its members, and its leaders. However, the last point is a very sensitive one. The JI members are fed up over this issue. The leaders of the JI cannot tolerate the situation much longer.

Chowdhery Shujait Hussein, Federal Home Minister, was the leader of the committee sent by the prime minister. This committee included the prime minister's brother Asghar, Mian Shahbaz Sharif, and members of the National Assembly from Bahadur Nagar, Mian Abdul and Istar Laika. This committee had come here especially to inform them about the prime minister's concern to the JI, and to assure it of the federal government's determination to rectify this problem. This meeting took place on 24 August and lasted for 1 and ½ hours. It was attended by Jamaat-i Islami leader Qazi Hussain Ahmed, Deputy Leader Chowdhery Rehmat Ilahi, and Secretary General Aslam Saleemi. Chowdhery Shujait Hussein had visited Karachi recently, where he met with Professor Ghafur Ahmed and Sayyed Mannawer Hasan, as well as some other leaders of the Jamaat-i Islami and the Jamiat. One day, before going to Mansura, Chowdhery Shujait Hussein was talking to some friends at his home in Gulbarg. Informally, he had said, "My eyes were opened when I was in Karachi. I believe that we must put an end to atrocities, murder, and looting in Karachi now. I do not even care if our government remains or falls in this effort." At this time, his friends said with a smile, "Thank God. After many months, the eyes of our home minister have been opened."

Chowdhery Sahib and his associates expressed this emotion to the leaders of Jamaat-i Islami in Mansura. His desire for keeping the IJI and its organization was also expressed. He said, "We must keep the IJI; in addition, we have to reorganize and make it stronger and more effective to meet the new challenges." He continued, "As a member party of the IJI, you are our real ally. The MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] and other parties are political rivals of the IJI."

The leaders of the JI were expressing their stand with pride and insistence. "We do not have any personal enmity with anyone. However, we cannot stay silent when our members are murdered." They presented copies of their five-point demands to the committee members, and also informed them about the discussion that took place in the Majlis-i Shura meeting. When the prime minister's deputation members asked if the IJI's leadership was satisfied, they replied that the situation has "passed the stage of verbal assurance." Now the "mood" was one in favor of action by the policy-making groups.

After this 1 and ½ hour meeting, the leaders of the JI were asked if they were satisfied with today's talks. When the JI leaders were asked about Faruq Lagari and Khawaja Tariq Rahim, they said it was just a goodwill visit.

The reconciliation committee, under the leadership of Chowdhery Shujait Hussein presented its report to the prime minister. According to one source, Mr. Nawaz Sharif was very satisfied with it. He left for Islamabad in the afternoon. His assistant, Mian Shehabaz Sharif, left for Mansura that evening with the goodwill message from the prime minister.

IJI, JI Relations Said Rocky

91AS1570C Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 30 Aug 91 p 8

[Article by Ejaz Haider: "Love Me or Leave Me"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Was the Amir Jamaat-i-Islami [JI] Qazi Hussain Ahmad sounding the conch when he threatened to quit the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] while addressing the Jamaat rally outside Mochi Gate on the 50th founding day of the Jamaat on August 25? Is the simmering tension between the JI leadership and the IJI government about to reach the inevitable? On second thought, is an impending breakaway really inevitable?

Before one sets out to answer all these questions, it is imperative to understand not only the response pattern of the JI, which essentially involves an analysis of its style of politicking, but also the nature of its friction with the IJI government of which it is a component. This is important insofar as what the Jamaat is experiencing at the hands of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] in Karachi, is not the beginning of its troubles with the IJI government. If anything, it may well be the last straw on the camel's back.

To appreciate JI's behaviour pattern requires understanding that, which is intrinsic to its ideology. The party started as an organisation to reform Muslim society long before it nurtured any political ambitions. Several years down the road, much may have changed in the nature of its immediate objectives, but its desire, rightly or wrongly, to reform society according to what it describes as the tenets of Islam, has not changed. It is in this context that one has to view the various positions that the party has taken through 44 years of politicking in Pakistan.

The idea of collaboration among right-wing parties to oppose the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], which crystallised in the form of the IJI in 1988, was in fact mooted by late Maulana Maudoodi in the aftermath of the 1970 elections. No wonder the Jamaat played a key role in the creation of PNA [Pakistan National Alliance], which kicked up enough dust following the 1977 elections to provide General Zia ul Haq with some kind of 'locus standi' to remove Z. A. Bhutto from power. To that extent, IJI can be termed as the brain-child of the Jamaat. Its subsequent collaboration with Gen. Zia is also to be viewed in the same context.

With the Afghanistan pot boiling—communism versus Islam—and Zia ul Haq's near obsession with the Afghan problem which not only served to satiate his (Zia's)

strategic interest as a soldier and provide for the much needed U.S. aid, but also served to keep him in power Jamaat got its first real breakthrough in the higher echelons of power. Once again, its conduct through the Afghan years, and its continuing infatuation with a militant solution to the Afghanistan problem, even after a qualitative change in the global scenario, reflects its commitment to a reformation of the Islamic society.

In fact, over the years, with the expansion of its contacts with resurgent Islamic forces in the Muslim world, the Jamaat has been nurturing the idea of Pan-Islamism and the emergence of an Islamic bloc. Its militancy whether it is on the home front, or on issues like Afghanistan and now Kashmir, is to be analysed in this context. Equally important in this respect is its love-hate relationship with the present government and before this with the Zia regime.

To understand this, and this is what determines its behavioural pattern towards its 'allies', one has to realise that the ideology notwithstanding, its approach to certain issues can be quite pragmatic. In fact, much of its consternation can be traced to its oscillation between the requirements of its ideology and those of realpolitik.

On its own, JI does not have much of a vote-bank. It cannot hope to secure a sizeable number of seats in the senate or the national and provincial assemblies; a number which could give it enough nuisance value to either hold the balance of power, or act as an effective pressure group. Therefore, it either needs an alliance to back up its candidates in a one-on-one strategy like that adopted by the IJI in the last elections, or a Shoora arrangement which was experimented with by Gen. Zia ul Haq.

This limitation, as mentioned earlier, is what determines Jamaat's politicking and compels it to keep its ideal bridled. This also explains its occasional, and sometimes often and quite open, stone-pelting on its own allies. Much as it needed Zia for Afghanistan—or was it Zia who used the Jamaat—it was immensely 'dissatisfied' with his nifaz-e-Islam. However, it never let that interfere with whatever 'little' Ziaul Haq was doing in the name of Islam. It was like crying hoarse for more while carrying on pocketing whatever was coming their way. The internal conflict in JI, between the present leadership and what some insiders describe as the 'Tufail group', has much to do with this 'pragmatic' approach. This was amply manifested in the treatment meted out to Mian Tufail, the former Amir of the party on the 50th founding day rally, when he criticised Oazi Hussain Ahmad for signing his consent to the Shariat Bill, which he (Tufail) described as a mockery of the Shariah. This in fact incensed Oazi sahib so much that he went to the extent of taking an on-the-ground vote from the JI workers present at the rally to endorse his decision of signing the bill.

The same dilemma governs its relationship with the IJI government also. There is ample evidence that it has developed serious differences with the government of

Nawaz Sharif—on issues which range from the Shariat Bill to ANP [Awami National Party] to MQM on the home front, and the policy on the Gulf, Afghanistan, Kashmir, the nuclear issue and Islamabad's attitude towards the United States, on the international front. For a clearer understanding, these differences can be treated on three levels:

- a. Differences within the Jamaat.
- b. Its differences with the IJI government.
- c. Differences with the ANP and the MQM.

This is not to say that these differences can be neatly compartmentalised. Far from it. Take for instance its clash with the ANP. To begin with, it is a clash of ideologies: ANP's stand on both Afghanistan and Kashmir is poles apart from that of JI. While JI has always taken a militant stance towards these two problems, ANP, even though it is part of the government, has denounced Pakistan's involvement in what it describes as the internal affairs of Afghanistan and India (it is only recently, that ANP seems to have shifted its stance on these two issues as is apparent from the recent statements by Haji Bilour).

On the provincial level, both parties have always been arch-rivals. When the ANP joined the IJI, Jamaat was compelled to accept the inevitable though it did so with a very heavy heart. It also made an uneasy truce with the ANP in NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] for the purposes of the elections. But in August '90, it withdrew support for the ANP candidates in NA-22 and NA-26 on the grounds that ANP had violated the electoral alliance. Within the larger context of the IJI, these differences translate themselves into JI's clash with the IJI government. Not for nothing is Jamaat getting uneasy on receiving news that the cabinet reshuffle in the offing will see at least two ministers from the ANP.

Be that as it may, that's a long list of differences for a component party to have; but it fits in neatly with the apparently paradoxical policy pursued by the Jamaat: keeping its religious credentials intact both within and outside the country, and staying within the fold of IJI since that appears to it the only platform through which the PPP can be effectively kept out in the cold.

Qazi Hussain Ahmad's recent threat, therefore, has to be viewed in the context of what has been described as JI's style of politicking. It has evinced its disapproval of the Shariat Act and the 12th Amendment, and yet, on both counts, it was the Jamaat which supported the Nawaz government on the floor of the House. Its latest embitterment has more to do with its bloodied nose in Karachi than any dissatisfaction with what Qazi sahib describes as the violation of the IJI manifesto by the Nawaz government, or its inability (or is it unwillingness) to consult other parties (read JI) in handling the affairs of the government.

The restraint shown by JI in the face of 'naked terrorism' by the MQM, is not out of any love for peace. This is apparent from the statements of Qazi Hussain Ahmad himself and Jamaat's own track record in the past, because its leadership has realised that at this point in time, the IJI government needs MQM more (in Sindh) than it needs JI. Also, the Jamaat's own compulsion to stay within the IJI makes it near impossible for it to cut itself off from the alliance. So, while keeping its boys from pulling the trigger, it has found it convenient, and expedient, to embarrass the government.

Qazi sahib was far from mealy-mouthed, during the recent protest march in Lahore following killings of JI workers in Karachi, when he openly accused the president, the prime minister and the Sindh chief minister of harbouring criminals like Altaf Hussain. Ever since, Qazi Hussain Ahmad has frequently created difficulties for the central government by issuing defamatory statements and levelling allegations.

And it has worked. It may not have mortally wounded the government, but it has definitely scarred it. Undue embarrassment, the IJI government can do without at this stage. And it is not just the verbal barrage of accusations that the government is apprehensive about. It is the extent to which Jamaat can go to outflank it that bothers it. Will the intransigence shown by the MQM towards JI force it to exercise other options such as join hands with the MQM (dissident group) and (horror of horrors!) the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance]. The fact that some of the PDA leaders were present at Mochi Gate may be a pointer to JI's possible hobnobbing with the idea of having a stint with the PDA in Sindh. With the PDA protest scheduled for September 11, and the local bodies polls approaching, a regional cooperation among JI, PDA and MQM (dissident group), could be an unsavoury situation for the government.

The government seems to be in a tight corner. The MQM, like all such organisations, has no respect for any alliance when it comes to its own interests, and it has all its eggs in the Karachi basket. To think that it would concede ground to either the government, or JI in this respect, if only to defuse the present crisis, would be wishful thinking. It can afford to not placate the government. Unlike JI, it has enough heads in the provincial assembly—and quite a few in the NA [National Assembly]—to effectively play its role as a counter-balancing force to the PDA. Till it out-spends its value in this regard, there could be no respite for JI.

The impunity with which it is alleged to have been killing the JI workers shows that it knows its nuisance. Neither is Jam Sadiq possibly going to do anything that goes against the interests of the MQM; if only, because he needs them to do the 'job' on PDA, and that according to the instructions from Islamabad is more important than placating an irate Qazi Hussain Ahmad.

So what is the Jamaat likely to do in the near future? Will it decide to quit IJI? Chances are it won't. It may threaten to do so, but that is all it is likely to do.

The news that Shahbaz Sharif is scheduled to meet Qazi Hussain on August 28, is a pointer towards yet another round of talks to woo Qazi sahib after the apparent failure of the Shujaat committee to find a modus vivendi. It was not a coincidence that PTV [Pakistan Television] decided to give 'hefty' coverage to the Jamaat rally in Lahore on August 27. As things stand, Qazi sahib is playing the cards close to his chest—the Shoora has given him the power to take the decision, and he appears to be telling the government that a breakaway could be imminent; that he still wants the government to relent, or else. That option is being kept open-ended and one can be sure that back-channel negotiations are on.

Jiye Sindh Soliciting Funds

91AS1501C Karachi AMN in Urdu 5 Aug 91 p 3

[News Report: "Sindh is Being Appealed to for Funds To Make Jiye Sindh Strong"]

[Text] Hyderabad 14 August (AMN correspondent)—Gul Mohammed Jhakrani, the central leader of the Jiye Sindh has appealed to the people of Sindh to help the movement with as much money as they can in order to make it strong. He said in a press conference that the Jiye Sindh movement was always aimed at helping the Sindhis. He said that Jiye Sindh members were being arrested all over Sindh including Karachi and that they were all following the policies determined by their leader G.M. Syed. He said that the police were demanding over 200,000 rupees to free the Jiye Sindh members arrested in the Pakland bus case. He appealed to all government, semigovernment, and private-sector employees to donate one-day's salary to the movement fund to make this organization strong and also to make themselves feel involved in this effort. He further said that a memorandum explaining Sindh's problems will soon be presented to the U.N. secretary general. The Jiye Sindh will run a signature campaign for this from 6 August to 6 September. All documents with the signatures will be sent to the United Nations. He added that several committees were formed to overcome financial problems of the movement. These committees include people such as Gul Mohammed Jhakrani, Mir Haider Talpur, Zulfiqar Mangi, Saiful Rehman Jatoi, and Qurban Jatoi. Mir Haider Talpur, Zulfiqar Mangi, Fateh Mayssar, and Shabir Khan were also present during the press conference.

Independence Said Behind Threats to Paper

*91AS1570B Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 29 Aug 91 p 1*

[Article by Rehmat Shah Afridi, Chief Editor: "Why FRONTIER POST Is Under Fire?"]

[Text] One reason why Jam Sadiq Ali's attack on THE FRONTIER POST [FP] looks like a threat of closure is that the federal government has suspended the paper's quota of ads both in Islamabad and Punjab. Since FP was never told formally why this punitive measure had been taken, Prime Minister [PM] Nawaz Sharif was approached by the paper for clarification. The PM agreed in principle that the paper should at least be informed about whatever grievances his government had against the newspaper.

For some reason, the word the prime minister gave to the paper was not adhered to, and the policy of discrimination against THE FRONTIER POST has continued. No rules exist to justify this treatment.

No newspaper is free of error and if it comes to light that a journalist is indulging in activities that are unethical, the newspaper is under moral justification to correct itself. But an independent newspaper cannot be punished simply because its critical scrutiny of the government in power is more effective than other newspapers. After 1986, the press in Pakistan is free and there is no newspaper worth its salt that is not in some measure critical of government policy. Readership has become demanding and no newspaper that blindly supports the government can hope to retain its readership. Yet, if a newspaper is politically aligned with one side or the other of the political divide, it becomes obvious and the consequences are borne by it thereafter. The government doesn't have to punish it; the readership does it more effectively.

THE FRONTIER POST ran into trouble with the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government after 1988, it was not favoured either by the caretaker government of Jatoi after the 1990 dissolution. However, the trouble with the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government is a cruel irony that one simply cannot comprehend. THE FRONTIER POST has opposed the 8th Amendment because it tends to destabilise democratically elected governments, it has opposed army's interference in government because it is unconstitutional, it has opposed violation of fundamental rights and has opposed the version of the Shariat Bill that threatened to overthrow the parliament. This policy could have gone against IJI when it was in opposition, but after coming to power the IJI has only derived support from THE FRONTIER POST.

When there was a fear that the PDA [Pakistan Democratic Alliance] might not sit in the parliament after the allegedly 'rigged' elections of 1990, FP editorially advised the opposition not to boycott the session. When there was a tussle between Nawaz Sharif and Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, FP editorially supported the candidacy of the former on what it thought were sound democratic principles. During the Gulf war, when the opposition rallied behind COAS [Chief of Army Staff] General Aslam Beg and challenged the IJI government with removal under the 8th Amendment or a straight military coup, THE FRONTIER POST stood out among the national newspapers by supporting IJI's policy on the

Gulf war. It faced threats from an inflamed public opinion but it stood by its view, not because it was aligned with Nawaz Sharif, but because it was defending its policy of pursuing national self-interest.

It so happened that, in a succession, THE FRONTIER POST adopted stances on government policies that were supportive of the IJI. FP welcomed the NFC [National Finance Commission?] award because it had always stood for devolving the financial powers to the provinces; it welcomed the Indus water accord because it considered the formula of division of waters a sound foundation on which the provinces could decide their quotas in future instead of allowing an upper riparian ad hocism that was unprincipled. It supported IJI's policy of privatisation because it was opposed to the state-sector economy and firmly believed that liberalisation of the economy was in the nation's interest.

After the Gulf war, which vindicated the FP stance, the opposition began following the course of alignment with the army in order to bring the IJI government under pressure. Although FP was considered critical of the government it wrote consistently against the opportunism of the combined opposition, criticised the various 'strategic' pronouncements of the COAS which it thought were 'interventionist' and 'obstructive'. In the run-up to August 17, which was targetted by the opposition as the last day of the IJI government in power, THE FRONTIER POST relentlessly excoriated the undemocratic behaviour of the opposition politician, including the PDA which the IJI thinks the paper tends to favour generally. No newspaper came out on the side of democracy as boldly as the FP and this is on record as a challenge.

It developed that THE FRONTIER POST ended up defending the government of Nawaz Sharif on policies more unambiguously than any other independent paper in the country. However, problems arose when the paper continued with its trend of doing investigative stories on the administration. It disclosed scandals of the past as well as the present and thus 'helped' the government at the centre and provinces in correcting its course. The upshot was that the officials representing the Information Ministry began to call and advise silence, a course that THE FRONTIER POST was unable to follow.

There is a difference between government policy and the working of the administration that is accepted by all democratic governments. The administration constantly needs correction if the government is to survive and it is the duty of the press under democracy to focus on the conduct of the officials and politicians in charge of running the public offices. THE FRONTIER POST cannot abdicate this duty. It is willing to correct itself when it is wrong, to co-operate with the government on policies of public weal, but it cannot obey the sort of 'advice' that will demean it in the eyes of its readers.

Threats to Newspaper Condemned

91AS1570A Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST
in English 30 Aug 91 p 8

[Article: "Threats to FRONTIER POST Condemned"]

[Text] Strongly condemning the threat issued to THE FRONTIER POST on Tuesday, by Sindh chief minister, Jam Sadiq Ali, the provincial PPP [Pakistan People's Party] chief and leader of the opposition in the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] Assembly, Aftab Ahmad Khan, has termed it an open attack on the freedom of the press to hide the facts about the ongoing situation in the province which is worsening day by day.

In a statement on Wednesday, he said THE FRONTIER POST is the only paper offering a true picture of what was taking place in Sindh. The Jam government had been intimidating the political opponents in that province which remained to be one of the major causes of the situation's taking a turn for the worst he said, adding that threats by Jam Sadiq Ali and his partner, MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], to the political activists and the journalists, had become frequent of late. Murder of a number of journalists did not prove enough to quieten the voice of the free press and now the Jam government had resorted to issuing open threats to the editors of the newspapers in the private sector, he added.

He said that the MQM had recently issued warnings to the journalists against writing such material which exposed the ethnic organisation and its activities against the political opponents in Karachi and elsewhere.

"The press conference at Lahore, had recently by some of the MQM parliamentarians, amply demonstrated how the leaders of this party took the press. I would also like to mention some recent utterances by the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] leaders in Lahore and Karachi, particularly by the prime minister and Sheikh Rashid, the federal government adviser, wherein they had openly spoken against the existence of a free press in the country. They have tried every method to accomplish this anti-democratic design including their refusal to supply official advertisements to the newspapers which keep their integrity and are reluctant to bow down to the IJI's pressures. The Sindh chief minister's threat against THE FRONTIER POST, is sure to backfire and those inducted without a genuine mandate of the people, would not last long," he remarked.

Haji Mohammad Adeel MPA [Member of Provincial Assembly] and central information secretary, ANP [Awami National Party] while condemning the threat by Jam Sadiq Ali, said "we are against harassing the press. Newspapers following an independent policy, are an asset for the country and a guarantee for success of democracy in Pakistan. Those in the opposition, have always been seeking help of such newspapers against the illegal and un-constitutional actions of the government of the time. I would like Jam Sahib to remember that

when he was abroad due to martial law, it was independent newspapers that kept him alive in national politics. He should avoid utterances that do not augur well for democracy and his own government," he said.

President of (Punjab) Pakistan People's Party, Jehangir Badr while condemning the threat to THE FRONTIER POST by Sindh's chief minister has said Jam Sadiq Ali had lost his senses.

Badr said Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was also directly responsible with Jam Sadiq Ali for harassing the valiant staff and editor of the daily THE FRONTIER POST. He added that the IJI government's threats to the newspaper was in fact part of a conspiracy against the entire free press. As they are abusing power and running the administration and looting the country's resources. Badr said that the PPP was and would always stand for freedom of expression.

Ch. Aitzaz Ahsan, former federal interior minister has said that unbiased and free reporting of THE FRONTIER POST was the reason why Jam Sadiq Ali had threatened the paper alongwith its staff.

Talking to THE FRONTIER POST, Ch. Aitzaz Ahsan said, THE FRONTIER POST today is the only truly independent newspaper and it was clear that it accepted no dictates from anybody. The Pakistan People's Party has always appreciated THE FRONTIER POST. The government of Benazir Bhutto gave unprecedented freedom to the national press even at the cost of unjustified and false propaganda against the PPP."

The PPP leader said it appeared that the IJI rulers had no patience with a free press and with an independent and free judiciary. Jam Sadiq's statement, he added, was clear evidence of the hollowness of the Nawaz Sharif governments and its allies. He further added that the threat also indicated that the rulers were shaken and nervous. But Aitzaz warned that such policies and threats would be resisted and the People's Party would give it's full support to THE FRONTIER POST and the free press even if the IJI rulers continued to harass them.

Khwaja Ahmed Tariq Rahim, former federal minister and a PPP leader vehemently condemned Sindh Chief Minister Jam Sadiq Ali for threatening the daily THE FRONTIER POST for it's independent reporting.

Khwaja Tariq Rahim said that on the one hand the IJI government was supposedly committed to a free press but on the other, the whole nation had seen in the past how Nawaz Sharif and others had made attempts to stifle free reporting. "Taking a cue from his mentor, Jam Sadiq Ali has manifested the entire attitude of the IJI government and the threats to the the editor of THE FRONTIER POST and other staff of the newspaper is highly deplorable, and it merits immediate attention not only by the prime minister but also of President Ishaq who is supposed to ensure the freedom of expression as guaranteed by the country's constitution."

Khwaja Tariq Rahim further added that Jam Sadiq Ali by threatening THE FRONTIER POST had violated constitutional provisions and that the people of Pakistan should realise what type of people were running the affairs of the country at present.

When contacted by THE FRONTIER POST for comments on the threats by Sindh Chief Minister Jam Sadiq Ali that he would put a ban on the distribution of THE FRONTIER POST copies in Karachi and Sindh, the president of Pakistan Muslim League (Pagaro group) Pir Sahib of Pagaro said that he would give a detailed reply on August 31. He expressed his inability to make any immediate comment in this regard.

Nawabzada Nasrullah: The chief of PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan said that any decision taken by the government regarding the closure of THE FRONTIER POST would be dangerous for the democratic institutions because democracy and press always rose and fell together.

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan said that the federal government should refrain from taking any decision about putting curbs on THE FRONTIER POST. He also condemned the attitude of Sindh chief minister in this regard and said that all the opposition parties and common people should take a serious notice of Jam Sadiq's threats. He said that the freedom of the press was crucial to the progress of the democratic process in the country.

Begum Mehnaz Rafi: Begum Mehnaz Rafi, a central PDA leader and president of Tehrike-e-Istaqlal, Punjab, when contacted for comment, said the services of THE FRONTIER POST for the cause of democracy were commendable. She said that every newspaper should be given full liberty to publish the factual news. She said that THE FRONTIER POST was the only newspaper which through its investigative reports, had unmasked the corrupt politicians belonging to IJI. She said that all the opposition parties would start struggle in favour of THE FRONTIER POST if any decision regarding its closure was taken by the government.

Mian Mohammad Ashraf: The president of Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Mian Mohammad Ashraf said that the government should refrain from putting curbs on the national press. He said that the business community of Punjab had a firm belief in the liberty of the press and any move on the part of the government to put curbs on the press would be opposed by it. At the same time, he maintained, the newspapers should publish only the correct news and avoid speculation. He said that the press should be given full liberty to report views about the government and opposition as well.

Call for Establishment of Pakhtoon State

91AS1557A Karachi AMN in Urdu 22 Aug 91 p 6

[News Report: "Pakhtoon State From Sabi to Zaub Demanded"]

[Text] Karachi, 21 August (Staff Reports)—Mr. Rafiq Pakhtoon, central chairman of the six-point committee for establishing Pakhtoonkhawah, has asked his Pakhtoon brothers to unite in order to end all atrocities being committed against them. They have been suffering for the last 44 years. He said this while addressing a meeting of the movement attended by Central Deputy Chairman Yar Mohammed Pakhtoon and Central Secretary Qasim Pakhtoon, as well as some central council members. Mr. Rafiq Pakhtoon expressed concern over the continued discrimination against the Pakhtoons all over the country. He demanded from the government a separate Pakhtoon state from Sabi to Zaub, "because Pakhtoon living there cannot live as Baluchis." He said that the present states were formed as a result of a presidential ordinance issued by Yahaya Khan. This ordinance was never approved by the National Assembly; therefore, the formation of the present state was illegal. "Mr. Jumma Khan Pakhtoon, member of the central council, said that the alleged census taken in 1971 had hurt us. Therefore, we demand a new census taken under the supervision of the army."

Northern Areas Attain New Status Under Sharif

91AS1576C Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
11 Sep 91 p 12

[Text] Islamabad, Sept 10—Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif will announce a "new status for the country's Northern Areas [NAs]" during his three-day visit to the region from Sept 27, thus ending a long-standing dispute and settling it in accordance with the aspirations of the people of the area.

The premier put off his visit to the NAs scheduled from Sept 8, because of consultations concerning expansion in the Federal Cabinet and more importantly for completing the spadework before enhancing the status of the Northern Areas.

The Prime Minister has formed a high-level committee on "Northern Areas" headed by Minister for Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas for looking into the various aspects in connection with giving the NAs status equal to a province in administrative matters.

Secretary General Foreign Affairs Akram Zaki, Secretaries Law and Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas Division are other members of this committee, which is likely to hold its meeting on Sept 16 for striking consensus on the issue.

"We will give a good response to the people of Northern Areas, as the present IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government gives weight to sacrifices the people of these areas made for the cause of Pakistan. More importantly the region is an important one from strategic point of view," told a member of the NAs committee to *THE MUSLIM* on Tuesday.

To begin with the Federal government [FG] has decided to give full status of a province at administrative level to

NAs. The government has also decided to abolish the existing Northern Areas Council and appoint an adviser to handle the intra FG-NA affairs in future.

Sources close to the premier said it was the earnest will of the Premier to improve the standard of life in NAs.

The government is reported to be aiming at de-centralising powers concerning affairs of the Northern Areas, with allowing the region to run it at par with any of the Provinces as far as administrative matters are concerned.

Meanwhile, the federal government has also decided to grant sufficient funds to the NAs for regularising the services of more than 3,000 low paid contingent workers in the PWD [Public Works Department] and other departments.

These employees, according to new formula, would be absorbed in the service of the federal government and their salaries would be directly paid by the centre.

Investigative Journalism Lacks Legislative Support

92AS0005B Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
12 Sep 91 pp 25-27

[Article by Justice (Retd.) Dorab Patel: "Investigative Journalism and the Law of Contempt"; first paragraph is *VIEWPOINT* introduction; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The position of human rights has been transformed because we have returned to parliamentary government and to rule of law. This means the position of those who are fighting for human rights has improved, because we now have the freedom of the Press, and the freedom of the Press means not only the right of newspapers to publish information about matters affecting the public interests but it is also their duty to publish such information. This requires investigative journalism, and newspapers in many Third World countries are rendering a very great service to human rights through investigative journalism.

As we all believe in the value of investigative journalism, some changes must occur in the law which would make investigative journalism possible. Investigative journalism is possible only where newspapers have access to facts, and the Freedom of Information Act in the United States of America has given newspapers access to public records and enabled journalists to expose corruption and violations of the law. Similar legislation in Pakistan will serve the cause of human rights and also help to expose corruption and inefficiency because corruption and inefficiency thrive on secrecy.

Law of Evidence

Investigative journalism is also impeded by our Law of Evidence, because it does not protect the confidentiality of information given to journalists. The Evidence Act protects the confidentiality of information given by a client to his lawyer. As a journalist performs a duty as

crucial to freedom as a lawyer, the English law was amended in 1981 and according to Section 10 of the Contempt of Courts Act, "No court may require a person to disclose, nor is any person guilty of contempt of court for refusing to disclose the source of information in a publication for which he is responsible, unless it be established to the satisfaction of the court that disclosure is necessary in the interests of justice of national security or for the protection of order." The time has come to amend the Evidence Act and give similar protection to our journalists if they are to discharge their duty of exposing corruption and violation of human rights.

We also need to change the definition of criminal defamation contained in Section 499 of our Penal Code. This definition is based on Common Law, but the definition in Common Law itself has become an anachronism. According to the Law Reform Commission of Canada (Working Paper 35) some defamatory attacks were made criminal for the first time in 1275 by a statute called *Scandalum Magnatum*. These Latin words mean the scandal of magnates, and the object of creating this crime was to prevent the spread of false tales that could result in discord between the King and his nobility. This crime was enlarged in the 17th century and in the Working Paper of the Law Reform Commission of Canada is written "Since people were at the time accustomed to a high level of violence in English society, duelling was still recognised as an honourable way to defend a reputation which had been attacked. To provide an alternative to duelling and to protect the State from attacks upon its authority, the Star Chamber in the case *De Libellis Famosis* created the Common Law offence of libel. A libel was penalised on the basis that it tended to cause a breach of the peace by inciting the victim to seek revenge."

This is the background to our definition of defamation, according to which whoever "makes or publishes any imputation concerning any person intending to harm, or knowing or having reason to believe that such imputation will harm the reputation of such person is said, except in the cases hereinafter mentioned, to defame that person." There are 10 exceptions to the section, and according to the first, it is not defamation to make a true statement about any person if the publication of the statement is for the public good. According to the second, it is not defamation to express in good faith any opinion respecting the conduct of the character of a public servant in the discharge of his duties. According to the third, it is not defamation to express in good faith any opinion about the conduct or the character of any person "touching any public question." These three exceptions can generally help to protect investigative journalism.

Burden of Proof

The principle of every civilised criminal jurisprudence is that the burden of proving all the ingredients of a criminal offence is on the prosecution. Unfortunately, this rule is reversed in Section 499, because it imposes on

newspapers the burden of bringing their case within the exceptions to the crime of libel. This is in sharp contrast to the provisions of Section 262 of the Canadian Criminal Code which define a defamatory libel as a matter published "without lawful justification or excuse that is likely to injure the reputation of any person."

Secondly, as any statement injurious to the reputation of a person is a criminal offence, the publication of a true statement by a newspaper can be an offence, unless the newspaper can bring its case within the exceptions to Section 499. The principle that even a true statement can amount to a criminal offence is inconsistent with the guarantee of freedom of speech and expression in Article 19 of the constitution. We have borrowed this definition from the Common Law in England which has been criticised by English courts. The American courts have consistently taken the view that truth is a complete defence in a criminal prosecution for libel, and the United States Supreme Court has held in a succession of cases that a defamation of an official or public figure cannot give rise to civil or criminal liability, unless the defamatory statement was made with the knowledge that it was false or with reckless disregard as to whether it was true or false. We need to amend Section 499 of the Penal Code on these lines if only to bring the Section into conformity with Article 19 of the Constitution.

Another law, which affects the freedom of the Press is our Law of Contempt, and it was based entirely on the English Common Law until 1968.

Scandalising the Courts

The species of contempt which is called scandalising the courts. In the words of Lord Denning, "When the judges of a court are criticised or defamed—or as it is put scandalised—they can punish the offender. They do it, they say not to protect themselves as individuals but to preserve the authority of the court." It was so stated in one of the most eloquent passages in our law books—in a judgement which was prepared but never delivered. The judge who was criticised was one of our greatest.

The Law of Contempt seeks to preserve the dignity of the courts through fear, but fear is the enemy of respect. In this part of the article the Law of Contempt in Pakistan is elaborated and explained.

We have followed the English Law, but the period before the first World War was a period of calm, and judges took a very lenient view of the contempts which were committed from time to time.

The Congress agitation for self-government after the first World War led to a flood of cases for contempt in all High Courts. The contemnors were often advocates who sympathised with the objects of the Indian National Congress and the practice grew up specially in the Bombay High Court, of the contemnors submitting an unconditional apology, which was accepted. But where cases were contested, there was a perceptible difference

between the punishment imposed by judges, and especially by different courts. The assessment of the permissible limits of fair criticism and fair comment is so relative that some judges and courts took a harsh view. And in Yusuf Ali Khan's case (PLD SC 482) our Supreme Court has criticised the strict view taken by the Lahore High Court during the inter-way period.

Leading Cases

I will now briefly refer to a few of the leading cases of our Supreme Court, and the two most famous cases about the scandalisation of the courts are the judgements in Sir Edward Snelson's case (PLD 1961 SC 237) and in M Anwar's case (PLD 1976 SC 354).

Mr. Anwar, a very senior advocate, had given an interview to the Press in which he had criticised the judgements of Justice Munir in Tamizuddin's case and in Dosso's case in a newspaper, and also criticised the doctrine of necessity, which had been used to legitimise Martial Law in Dosso's case. Mr. Anwar had further indicated that the judges, who were parties to Dosso's judgement, had violated their oath of office and done great harm to the country. A notice of contempt had to be issued, because the language of Mr. Anwar's article was offensive compared to Snelson's speech to civil servants. The Supreme Court convicted Mr. Anwar to contempt, but he was merely reprimanded severely for his interview.

Would the mere reprimand given to Mr. Anwar mean, especially when compared to the sentence in Snelson's case, that the offence of contempt by scandalisation had been reduced to a technical offence? Unfortunately not, because the last paragraph of the judgement emphasises the gravity of Mr. Anwar's contempt. Now Mr. Anwar's explanation for his article was that he was emotionally very agitated by the events of 1971, and that the judgements in Tamizuddin's case and Dosso's case were steps on the road that led to the break-up of the country. As this explanation was accepted, the principle laid down in the case appears to be that even when offensive language is used by a contemnor, his punishment must be limited to severe reprimand, if his criticism relates to matters of public interests about which he is greatly agitated.

Another principle laid down in the case was that an attack on the conduct and character of a retired judge, without reflecting on the court, "cannot be made the subject matter of contempt proceedings." What is the line between the criticism of a judge which does not affect the court which he had served and criticism which does? Unfortunately the court has thrown no light on this difficult question. Further, all the judges, who had been parties to Dosso's case, had retired long before Anwar's case was decided. But the Court held that the article amounted to contempt, because it had also criticised all the other judges of the Supreme Court for having abandoned their oath to uphold the Constitution. The difficulty in the distinction drawn by Court is that all the other judges of the Supreme Court had not only

abandoned their oath to uphold the Constitution but were also parties to Dosso's case and had followed Dosso's case in subsequent years. Therefore, if criticism of Justice Munir could not be made the subject matter of contempt proceedings, how could criticism of the other judges convert the article into contempt?

Our law on publications which comment on matters which are subjudice is based on the judgement of Lord Chancellor Harwicke given 248 years ago, to which I referred earlier, and unfortunately the plea that newspapers have a duty in a democratic country to inform the public about matters of public interest does not appear to have been raised in our courts. But in Shabir Ahmed's case, (PLD 1963 SC 610) Mr. Shabir Ahmad, an ex-Judge of the West Pakistan High Court, had defended a notice of contempt against him on the ground that his interview to the Press, which was the subject matter of the notice to him, could not possibly have influenced the Supreme Court because he had discussed questions of law. This plea was rejected on the English case law before 1960 and he was convicted for contempt.

Mr. Bhutto's case (PLD 1975 SC 383), he had banned the National Awami Party under the Political Parties Act, the case was referred to the Supreme Court. Knowing that the matter was subjudice, Mr. Bhutto made a speech which contained very very derogatory remarks about the National Awami Party, but he also said that he would comply with the Supreme Court's orders. In the notice of contempt filed against him, the Attorney-General relied on Article 248 of the Constitution, which gives immunity to all Ministers, including the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers, for statements made by them.

Bhutto's Claim Upheld

The Supreme Court upheld Mr. Bhutto's claim that the law for contempt could not apply to him because of article 248. The court also held that it would not be deterred by Mr. Bhutto's observations from doing justice in the case. These observations appeared to open the door to the great changes in the law, which were being made at that time in England by Judges like Denning.

The attention of the Supreme Court was drawn the next year in Anwar's case to these changes, but the Court shut the door to these changes with the observation that "there is a real and substantial risk of prejudice being caused to one party or the other if a public debate on those issues is permitted during the pendency of such an appeal".

This risk of prejudice is the possibility that a judge would be influenced by newspaper comments. I share the view of the English judges that a judge cannot be influenced by newspapers comments, and I will give you an example. The White Papers against Mr. Bhutto were published while the Supreme Court was hearing his appeal against his conviction by the Lahore High Court. The appeal was against a sentence of death and the White Papers were intended, in the words of Lord

Hardwicke, to prejudice mankind against Mr. Bhutto. I read all the White Papers during the pendency of the appeal. They did not have any effect whatever on my judgement. I, therefore, do not agree with the view taken in Anwar's case that there is "a real and substantial risk of prejudice" to a litigant by newspaper comments on matters which are subjudice, except of course when a new and inexperienced judge is hearing a case. This is because it takes time to develop a judicial outlook, and so inexperienced judges do not hear cases of public importance which invite newspaper comments.

However, we should not follow English practices whenever our laws are different from English laws. In England, if comments on a pending case amount to contempt, the contemnor will be punished, whether he is a minister or an ordinary citizen. But we are governed by a written Constitution, and in view of the Supreme Court's judgement in Bhutto's case of 1975 to which I referred earlier and Article 248 of the Constitution, it is clear that comments by all Ministers, even on matters which are subjudice, are immune from the Law of Contempt. As the benefit of Article 248 is only available to Ministers it means that the parties in power can comment on matters which are subjudice, through Ministers, while the parties not in power would be guilty of contempt even if they reply to comments by Ministers on matters which are subjudice.

This aspect of the law is extremely unfair to opposition parties and it is also inconsistent with Article 19 and the right of equality conferred by Article 25 of the Constitution.

The punishments for contempt have also to be brought into line with Article 19, because the punishments include imprisonment. This punishment was imposed by British Courts in the 18th Century when the concept of human rights was very different from what it is today. I do not think the punishment of imprisonment should be imposed for contempt at all except in the case of wilful disobedience of the orders of the Court.

Hundreds of journalists have been killed in the last decade in the Third World for doing their duty. And although only two journalists have been murdered in the last five years in Pakistan, the attacks on newspapers offices for political reasons have increased alarmingly. These are very ominous signs, but they only prove the

crucial role which journalists are playing in the struggle for freedom. We should, therefore, do our utmost to repeal those laws which make it hazardous for journalists to do their duty.

Reasonable Settlement for Provincial Staff Sought

92AS0016D Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
25 Sep 91 p 6

[Text] Consequent upon the Balochistan Chief Minister's acceptance of their main demands, the Balochistan Secretariat Staff Association have called off their week-long strike. At a meeting with the Chief Minister a delegation of the staff association apprised him of their outstanding demands and difficulties caused by the price hike and general dearness. The chief minister accepted an enhancement in their emoluments of Rs[rupees]250 to meet the cost of electricity and gas charges. In response to advice from senior officials that the acceptance of the workers' demands would prove a burden for the provincial government, the Chief Minister said the Balochistan government would not deprive its employees of their genuine rights. For the first time in many years we are seeing a Chief Minister looking after the interests of the lower cadres of the Secretariat staff. The irony is that while the Balochistan government quite rightly acceded to the genuine demands of the lower cadres of employees, the Sindh government thought it fit to treat them to a serious of baton charges.

If Balochistan, by no means the richest province, can see its way to meeting the genuine demands of its employees, there is no reason, why the other provinces, which are relatively better off, should not make a reasonable settlement in favour of their Secretariat staff. After all the Secretariat staff is demanding no more than has already been promised to them. If any province for some reason is unable to fulfil its commitment to its employees, it should ask for time instead of resorting to strongarm methods. Provincial government employees are hit by the inflation like other under privileged classes. What they are demanding is barely enough to enable them to pay their gas and electricity bills. It is unfortunate that instead of solving their problems, the government of some of the provinces are trying to suppress them through physical violence. Let the governments be magnanimous and grant the demands of the workers.

Nawaz Held Accountable for Failure of Co-Ops*92AS0016A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
24 Sep 91 p 6*

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has set up a "Task Force" to address the crisis resulting from the collapse of co-operative financing companies. The action comes more than a month after the crisis burst into a public scandal and there is no explanation for this heartless delay. Stony silence on this point cannot possibly add an extra shine to the images of big shots involved in the shady business of building up these finance houses only to misappropriate the deposits of small savers. As it happens, there is no way to conceal the unlovely fact that many of the authors of this culpable farce happen to be the stars in Premier Nawaz Sharif's IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] elite, himself included. True, he has cleared the last paise he owed to any of the shattered co-ops. But that doesn't quite explain everything away, even if some credence is accorded to the plea that the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government had forced him into the co-op corner. But much more than money is at stake: though the money involved is said to be in the vicinity of 2,000 crore of rupees. One can only go by this rough estimate because the authorities refuse to disclose the correct figure.

The collapse on the scale that we now witness points incriminating fingers in a number of directions. This disaster developed over a period of time, possibly some years. What was the Government of Punjab doing, while cash from these co-operatives was being systematically drained away? At least for some part of this period, Mr. Nawaz Sharif must have been at the head of the Government of Punjab. In principle, he must do some explaining which he doesn't seem inclined to do. It is also a case of disregarding the responsibility of accountability to the public. It is hard not to be thrown back to the first 90 days of dictator Zia during which he went back on his promise of elections because he thought the sacred process of accountability must be gone through first, regardless of the consequences.

The govt should know that this scandal cannot be hushed up or covered up. Like prime minister many members of his power club have a lot to explain. They would be better advised to start now. Later may be too late.

Apart from the fact that the Registrar of Cooperatives of the Government of Punjab has to be subjected to thorough investigation, one cannot be unmindful that the real causes behind this stupendous fraud would be tantamount to criminal abuse of public funds. To ignore the criminal side of this sordid story would only deepen public misgivings of wrong-doing in places beyond the reach of our woefully emaciated law enforcing agencies. It is time our cavalier politicians realised that the people have come to have a penetrating look at what has been happening. The man in the street today knows a great deal more than his tormentors seem to think. And public censure, when it comes to be articulated, turns out to be

infinitely more galling than conviction by any court of law. This co-op genie is not going to go away without exacting due sacrifice.

'Businessman' Premier Faulted for Inflation*92AS0016F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
25 Sep 91 p 6*

[Text] The rise in inflation is so sharp that the statistical bromide which the government offers can bring no relief to the people. The consumers are not convinced that the percentage of price rise last year was far higher even though the actual prices they have to pay are much higher this year. The Federal Bureau of Statistics claims that the cumulative increase in sensitive price index during the first 11 months of the last financial year was 3.32 percent compared to only 1.92 percent this year. It, however, says that sensitive price index for the year ending 12 September showed a rise of 11.01 percent compared to 9.64 percent for the year preceding that. What is far more important for the people is the painful market reality, and not the statistical illusion which has no credibility at all. The fact is that each year rise in inflation begins with the 10 to 15 percent more rise in support prices for agricultural products announced by the government. As food prices rise, all other prices rise and as the poor spend the bulk of their earnings on food, they have little to spend on other items. Along with agricultural prices, prices of milk and other dairy products, eggs, poultry, meat etc. rise. Then follows the annual increase in POL [expansion not given] prices, power, gas and telephone rates. And in some cities people, have to pay a lot more for water. The budget comes with a shower of taxes every year, and this year the budget's contribution to the economy is not less than a 3 to 4 percent rise in inflation. Along with all that, all the steady devaluation of the rupee inflates the imported cost of all items constantly.

As if all this is not enough, the government has been coming up with a series of what is almost a mini-budget. How else could one explain the levy of 31 percent excise duty on telephone call rates which has been raised by 25 percent from 1 July that means a total rise of 56 percent to mobilise additional revenues of over Rs[rupees]5 billion, which is a very large sum? Surely the government cannot go on claiming a low inflation rate in the face of the constant price and tax-push measures on its own part. Inevitably, the government clerks are on strike in several parts of the country. Other groups, too, are clamouring for higher wages. Meanwhile the government needs far more resources to fund its wastefully large cabinet with little merit. More than anyone else, the prime minister ought to know the deleterious impact of high taxes and a uselessly large cabinet, but he does not seem to practice what he had learnt as a successful businessman as he is now spending public money and not his own. But the results can be just the opposite of what he is seeking.

Causes of Donor Apathy Examined

91AS1570H Karachi DAWN in English (Supplement)
7 Sep 91 p III

[Article by Muhammad Ilyas: "Why Pakistan Has Earned Donor's Apathy"]

[Text] The fear that Pakistan may be forsaken by the international community economically as a basket case well past the possibility of mending is perceptible in the governmental corridors. "The world may become indifferent to us as it has done in the case of happenings in Somalia, Liberia (undergoing internecine blood-letting), Botswana, Chad etc.", a high official remarked the other day.

The developments in Soviet Union—or whatever may be left of it by the time this despatch appears in print—are not going to halt this recession into oblivion. Far from it. The August 19 ouster of Gorbachev did cause the eyes in quarters that matter to glow with new hope that the United States would start valuing Pakistan again almost at par with Israel and Egypt and re-open the flood-gates of aid. The euphoria was, however, short-lived.

Euphoria

At home, any bright spots resulting from the deregulation and liberalisation policies of the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government have been blurred by the political situation. Criminals loot and murder people with unprecedented abandon. The dacoities in interior Sindh and the vendetta murders and exactions in Karachi and Hyderabad have become an accepted way of life for the urbanities. Kidnappings for ransom in the countryside and exactions by the ethnic group in the urban centres mean that a person may not consider his assets safe, no matter in what form and where he or she may have kept these.

"Pakistan is one of the least lawful countries in the world," said a U.N. official in Islamabad.

Obviously, he did not have only these criminal events in mind. For under discussion was not only the B.C.C.I. [Bank of Credit and Commerce International] but the scandals of huge write-offs in the banks and DFIs [expansion not given] and the fraudulent finance companies as well. This too was dacoity—respectable though—the discussants concurred.

For the ultimate result can be that the people will lose faith in the banks and other accepted channels. This, in a country with one of the lowest rates of saving in the world—seven to eight per cent! This figure, again, hides more than what it reveals. For it includes the prize bonds racket in which only the rich convert their idle money into Manna, by buying up substantial number of the Rs.[rupees]1000 bonds, thus fore-closing the possibility of the first prize of Rs. 5 lakh going into the coffers of an ordinary person.

Judging by the behaviour of the scheduled banks, it seems that these exist precisely so that the series of fraudulent finance "cooperative" companies should emerge on the scene under changed nomenclatures to deprive lower middle class and middle class people's savings. The returns from deposits in the scheduled banks are already discouraging low. The prospect of predation by finance sharks is made still easier by compulsory Zakat deductions and, from this year, Withholding Tax on the profits on bank deposits.

Nothing Whimsical

There is nothing whimsical about the scandal of finance companies either! The trap for the unwary people with savings from life-long service, remittances from abroad or sale of fixed assets, is laid with due deliberation in which important government functionaries are full participants.

In 1980s, 'Pioneer Alliance' emerged the brightest star in the business of luring depositors on promises of phenomenal rates of return that would bamboozle even the most circumspect person. Even as the State Bank of Pakistan and Ministry of Finance warned the people not to invest money in these companies, the then President, General Mohammad Ziaul Haq, was inaugurating its branches.

A former Brigadier, speaking on behalf of the victims of the NICFC (National Industrial Finance Corporation) said that the present president too inaugurated one of its branches. So how could the loyal citizens of Pakistan not be taken in by the promises made by NICFC—particularly as its chief operator had been made an MPA [Member of Provincial Assembly] by the ruling IJI?

Answering newsmen's questions on August 31 after inauguration of an NDFC [National Development Finance Corporation] branch in Rawalpindi, Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz tried to dismiss the subject, saying: "These companies were illegal...and the government could not possibly know that they were indulging in illegal activities." Surely, the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's enterprise would not be such a simpleton as to know this and obtain a huge loan from it.

Credibility Gap

As the victims of these companies started a hue and cry, the Government had nearly Rs. 45 crore transferred from the Punjab Bank to NICFC. The bank too is now reported to be in a precarious condition.

How can the former Chief Minister of Punjab escape responsibility for the misery of the victims of these cooperatives? Ignoring authentic reports that 99.9 per cent of cooperatives in Pakistan were fake, he amended the law to allow banking by so-called cooperatives. In Pakistan, the whole set-up sporting the appendage "cooperative" is nothing but fraud—right from the top to the bottom.

According to the Annual Report of the Federal Bank for Cooperatives (FBC) for 1989, over Rs. 700 million worth of loans could not be recovered out of the total due debt of Rs. 3060 million. It was left with reserves of Rs. 175.46 million at the end of the year. And its total profit reached the 'commanding height' of Rs. 11,000 during the whole year!

It can be well imagined what impression the outside world would obtain about a country where people are cheated of their hard-earned savings through farcical companies without too much attempt at concealing the fraud. As regards the orders to freeze their bank accounts and sealing their offices, "we have heard of it umpteen times in the past," remarked a victim of the Services Credit Cooperative Cooperation (SCCC) of another IJI MPA, Mr. Zulfikar Awan. In the business circles, the view held is that to save SCCC, the run on NICFC was engineered.

The last word on B.C.C.I. too has yet to be heard by the world. Was it deliberately done in by those very people who are today crying hoarse over the plight of a "bank of the Third World?" Was it some kind of a trade off? One gentleman has even got part of his liability already written off!

It is so easy to deceive our own people. (Even if some people refuse to be taken in by propaganda, they dare not say so in public). One can go on deceiving them without any fear of accountability.

As some well-known economists noted at a seminar held by the Pakistan Forum of Intellectuals, that despite deregulation a prospective industrialist still requires the Government's permission at every step before he can hope to set up an enterprise on the ground.

For all the hullabaloo about import liberalisation, the reality is that although numerically the items on control list for import have been drastically curtailed, those that have been freed from any control constitute a mere 0.87 per cent of imports. Tariff rates remain high, continuing to distort the mix of inputs and range of products. Reason: heavy dependence of the budget on import duties and surcharges. This means that Pakistan remains the paradise of consumer goods smugglers and serves as an argument for continued high protection rates for the domestic industry.

The upbeat tone of our Finance Minister has never had the effect of a sustained euphoria. Now it carries the premonition of doom for the ordinary people and incredulity in the circles that matter. Thus the IMF summarily rejected the government's statistics about the volume of deficit financing. Least so as the Government is now borrowing money in the market at increased rates of 14 per cent and above in order to meet its unproductive expenditure in which there has been no let-up. The victims are education, health and R&D institutions. The latter, for a long time, have barely paid salaries to their staff. Nothing is left for R&D. In a way, they have sunk ever deeper into incubation without hope of an early resuscitation.

Passing on the Burdens

This kind of economy can have the effect only contrary of what the government hopes to produce for the consumption of its foreign donors. Cynical is the manner in which it has sought to meet their requirements in the areas of resource mobilization and curtailment of deficit. Instead of taxing its constituency—the landed aristocracy—it has transferred most of the burden on to the already bent shoulders of the middle and lower middle class and the poor. It has artificially raised the wheat flour prices and potato, whereas even the World Bank, in its latest annual report, has advised the developing countries to insure supply of food at lower rates. These policies effectively take care of whatever objectives the government may be espousing publicly in the way of industrialisation. The financial policies of the government thus place the low-income people doubly on the rack: (1) price spiral and (2) increased tax with further roller coaster pressure on cost of living.

The government may be relatively successful in camouflaging the basic imperatives of its policy, but it cannot deceive the foreign creditors who want assured return of their loans with interest. Its policies can be summed up as follows:

- Keep the landed aristocracy satisfied through its exemption from income tax and increase in prices of agricultural commodities; and
- Keep the urban part of its constituency satisfied through sale of public sector enterprises, doling out of loans from DFIs for industrial projects which may not necessarily see the light of day and look the other way when fraudulent cooperative companies cheat the middle class of whatever it is able to save to stand them in good stead in their old age.

The credit-worthiness of Pakistan is in doubt so far as the donor agencies are concerned, particularly in a climate of political instability in spite of the IJI wielding two-third majority in the Parliament. There is no gain-saying the nature of this support. The biggest industrial and commercial centre of Pakistan which also happens to be the only sea port is a hostage in the clutches of an ethnic group; and the government effectively recognizes its hegemonic position.

Donors' Reservations

Moreover, the external donors are not sure that the dollars they give would be used for the specified purpose. A UNDP [UN Development Program] official conveyed the reservation harboured by them in a diplomatic way when he said the Government does not have the capacity to utilise the aid funds appropriately. Recent years have been marked by an emphasis on the development of NGOs [nongovernmental

organizations]. In Pakistan, the genuine NGOs rendering some service to the community on a self-sustaining basis can be counted on the fingers.

That Pakistan has for long been undergoing the process of isolation is evident from the diminishing number of tourist industry. Pakistan is not considered a safe place to be found in. One can imagine the effect on the sense of insecurity of the foreigners after some bearded youngsters harassed foreign women in the E-7 and F-7 Sectors of Islamabad and the over-agile Police failed to trace the culprits.

Foreign Exchange Reserves Declining

91AS1557B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 27 Aug 91 p 3

[News Report: "Foreign Exchange Reserves Declined by 480 Million Rupees"]

[Text] Karachi (Staff Reporter)—An additional deficit of 481,792,000 rupees in foreign exchange reserves was reported today. Meanwhile, according to another report, there has been an increase of 2.35 billion rupees in debt notes. According to a State Bank report, there was a total reserve of 8,897,878,000 rupees on 1 August. This was reduced to 8,416,895,000 rupees by 8 August. Similarly, on 1 August, there were debt notes worth 133,491,649,000 rupees. These increased to 135,845,095,000 rupees.

Editorial Cautions Against Negotiating New IMF Loans

92AS0016B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
24 Sep 91 p 6

[Text] The International Monetary Fund has at last relented. The balance of \$140 million from the SAF [Structural Adjustment Facility] loan it had committed in 1988 and later withheld (because Pakistan was not complying with the harsh conditionalities that go with such facilities) may now be released. But the final disbursement will still take sometime because the IMF's Board has yet to meet next month to approve the recommendation so far made only by the Fund's mission which was in the capital during the last one week or so to monitor whether or not Pakistan government was behaving.

Till last July the IMF mission maintained that the budget for 1991-92 did not constitute an adequate response to the complex economic and fiscal problems Pakistan was confronted with. Therefore, a rather abrupt change in its attitude has surprised many quarters. One official explanation is that the post-budget returns of domestic revenues as well as of export earnings have dramatically improved to convince our creditors that a substantial recovery in our economy is on the way under

the impact of the present government's economic reforms. Many domestic observers may still be sceptical about this evaluation.

But whatever the reasons for the IMF's change of heart—economic or political—it is good that one irritant is out of the way in our overall gloomy aid scenario. Again, officials assure us that it is not just the question of \$140 million. IMF's endorsement of our good economic behaviour will have a wider impact. Indeed some \$800 to \$900 million of external assistance in the pipeline were not moving just because there was a kind of deadlock in negotiations with the IMF. The new certificate of our being good boys by an international financial institution will influence others, notably Japan and multilateral agencies like the World Bank, Asian Bank etc, and our external balance of payments position will improve substantially.

All this apparently sounds too good to be true. We have come to specialise in counting our chickens before they are hatched and euphoria often overtakes our judgement. Our economic situation on the ground hardly justifies undue optimism. Our budgetary deficit remains staggeringly high. Our dependence on external assistance to the tune of \$2 billion each year is excessive considering that repayments now claim more than \$1.3 billion. Unless we broaden our production base, it may be difficult to keep up the current momentum of exports. Whatever the significance of reconciliation with the IMF, the economy's bitter truths demand a sober, pragmatic and realistic approach to economic management with the maximum reliance on the mobilisation of domestic resources. Another urgent task on our agenda should be to shift the emphasis from negotiating fresh loans to seeking legitimate debt relief on past loans.

Increased Attention to Fish Production Urged

91AS1576B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
11 Sep 91 p 6

[Text] At seminars on defence and ocean wealth the sea is being described as Pakistan's largest province. But too little attention has been paid to that province over the years despite its vast potential to boost our exports in a big way and make Pakistan rich and improve the nutritional level of the undernourished masses. As a result, Pakistan has been going down in the Table of Nations catching fish, and it now stands at 37 with Japan as the first nation and little countries like Chile, Peru and Iceland way ahead of Pakistan. This is a vastly neglected sector of the economy despite its immense potential and hence, its catch is barely 430,000 tons, inclusive of inland fishing, while Japan's catch is 11.8 million tons. What the fishermen and fish exporters get from the ministers and government departments is advice and more advice and not active assistance. Nor has a proper plan been drawn up to exploit the fish resources of the country. However, because of increasing external aid

some attention is being given now to promoting island fishing. A US study recently declared the Karachi Fish Harbour as the most polluted fish harbour in the world.

The upcoming Gwadar Fish Harbour should be able to make a major contribution to fish production and

exports. But overall the need of the hour is a comprehensive plan for deep sea fishing, with a large export target and adequate efforts to achieve that target without fail instead of being content with the too modest exports of Rs 2 billion. A cell should be set up in the Ministry of Agriculture to draw up such a plan and implement it instead of letting this vast resource go [to] waste.

Post-Beg Martial Law Possibility Seen Increasing
91ASI501A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
17 Aug 91 p 12

[Article by Abdul Karim Abid: "Martial Law: Fears and Ambitions"]

[Text] General Aslam Beg has retired, however, the possibility of a martial law or some other kind of political upheaval has increased. There were only fears then, now it is the fear of ambitions in the political rather than in the military circles. Decisions to resign from legislative assemblies, hunger strikes, threats to go into the streets, President Ishaq's allegedly becoming a party to these efforts, talks about suspension of the government, and demands for a national government all increase our fears. It seems that history is repeating itself. The same scenario and characters are emerging as were seen during the last part of Benazir's rule. Malik Naved's statements in which he is trying to pose as a star witness, Martaza Poya's great emotions about religion despite his being alone, Pir Fazal Haq's tirade, Zahid Sarfaraz' belligerent politics, Pir Pagara's forecasts and his son's resignation as a minister, Malik Maraj Khalid's call to the armed forces for a revolt, direct demand for a martial law by Malik Qasim and Khar, and the fear of the people that a conspiracy—which seems to be an open secret now—was being hatched against the present government are not happening without any reason. All of these events are interrelated and one could easily conclude where these will lead us. This whole political scene did not happen spontaneously; there are skilled artists behind it. There are producers and directors of this drama. The worst part of this scenario is the situation in Sindh where according to a military intelligence report, armed groups have been given even more arms and ammunition. The PPP [Pakistan People's Party] has concluded that it will welcome a martial law if only a martial law can free it from the dangerous trap it is stuck in. The Jamaat-i Islami (JI) is still within the Islami Jamhuri [IJ] Ittehad despite the anger and protest of its partners in Karachi. However, it is clear that the JI and Nawaz Sharif's close relationship is finished and they are tied by the weak thread of convenience. Mr. Junejo and Mr. Jatui unexpectedly have kept themselves under control and are playing the politics of "two steps forward and one step backward." Seeing these careful people assures us that wisdom outweighs lunacy. This wisdom is being demonstrated by the military, which is avoiding a martial law, rather than the politicians this time around. It wants the politicians to decide on a constitutional government that also satisfies the military. Thus, the month of August is passing without any event despite all the rumors. However, the sun and the moon will not stop their revolutions when August is over. September and October will follow. Those who wanted to rule for five years are finding it hard to finish even one year. Why is this all happening?

One aspect has clearly emerged that the armed forces and the United States are openly opposed to each other.

The military cannot accept that Pakistan is being belittled and India's increasing stature is being protected. The U.S. ambassador stated that Pakistan has passed a red light and has created a dangerous situation. The military believes that there can be accidents if the red light is still lit, therefore, it wants to cross it quickly. According to it, staying in the middle of the intersection is very dangerous. The confrontation between the armed forces and the United States did not start today; it began with the plane crash in which General Zia was killed. The military generals thought that the whole incident would be covered up if martial law was lifted and Benazir was installed on the throne and that then the United States would be satisfied and soften its attitude toward Pakistan. This did not happen and a group accuses Benazir of keeping the tension between the Army and the United States to protect her own interests. They also think that she is not capable of managing this difficult maneuver. Anyhow, she was accused of inefficiency and had to leave. This was not a difficult feat since her government was in a state of siege from day one so she could be pushed out when the need arose. People like Malik Naved, Pir Fazal Haq, Martaza Poya, and Zahid Sarfaraz were stationed around to cause problems and spread fear. In addition, a gang of sycophant ministers were also attached to Benazir. Their job was to do things haphazardly and give wrong statements. Nawaz Sharif's government is in a similar situation now. Everyone is trying to get into the limelight with passionate speeches and gaining the approval of his boss. At the same time, efforts are made to hide internal weaknesses and fears. The fears of a martial law or demand of it will not decrease with these efforts. The only appropriate option is that the three powers in this country—the IJI, the PPP, and the military—join their forces and decide how to meet the U.S. challenge.

If we have to fight, then how will we fight and how far we will go? Do we want to avoid confrontation? How much room is there for retreat? These three forces will remain victims of ideological differences. Their mutual confrontation will not solve any problem; it will only make things worse and push us toward a crisis. Therefore, these three powerful groups should sit down together and think of ways to save the country. They should tell the other peoples and parties that their role is finished and they should not support or oppose anything. They should tell those who practice politics of protest as a hobby that enough is enough. We need a real unity instead of a fake one. Instead of confrontational politics, they must form a unity that makes everyone from top to bottom honest. Only such a unity based on cooperation between the government and the opposition can meet the American challenge and stop it from using the "India card." They should also ask the United States why it showed green and yellow lights to dictatorships and now is showing a red light to a democracy. A democracy deserves more time than a dictatorship so that it could adopt to the new world atmosphere. It should have assurance that it will not be endangered by India and if it does, then it is protected. Pakistan should not be helpless defensively. If

we want to enter the age of disarmament then why only Pakistan and why not the whole south Asia be disarmed? A similar proposal made by Pakistan was liked by the United States and the Soviet Union, however, when the people and the army do not support a government, its policies are not implemented. Therefore, Mr. Nawaz Sharif should have a round-table conference of our own people to foster cooperation before he calls for an international round-table conference. This is the only way to avert the fear of another martial law. This will also shut up the elements that are demanding another martial law.

Military Consequences of New Order Viewed

92AS0016G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
25 Sep 91 p 6

[Article by Shireen M. Mazari: "U.S. Moves for Military Dominance"]

[Text] The U.S.-Kuwait defence treaty, an expected development in the aftermath of the Gulf war, has given concrete shape to the new U.S. policy of asserting its military dominance—the base of the new world order. This military dominance has become critical for the United States in view of the growing economic power of the European Community and Japan, especially as a means of maintaining control over the strategic raw material: oil.

Therefore, a strong military presence in the Gulf offers the U.S. economic advantages as well as political influence. It not only allows the Americans to tighten their grip over Arab resources—a grip that already existed as a result of the storage of Arab wealth in the West—but also to control the pace of global economic development by controlling the supply of oil to the energy-efficient Japan and Europe.

While the comprehensive details of the ten-year U.S.-Kuwait defence pact have still to be made public, press reports have highlighted certain features of the pact. Included in the agreement is an arrangement to allow the United States to stockpile weapons in Kuwait, a provision for visits of American warships and planes and a programme for joint military training and exercises.

Even these limited revelations have serious negative reverberations for states in the region, especially when it is almost inevitable that this pact is not limited exclusively to Kuwait. The other Arab Emirates in the region, even under the aegis of the GCC [Gulf Cooperation Council], would be drawn into the workings of this arrangement, but more likely, they will follow with their own bilateral defence pacts with the United States. Thus, the region's security will be adjusted within an American perspective.

The first priority of such a perspective within the region is, of course, the recognition of the State of Israel and abandonment of the Palestinians by the Arab world. The process towards this end has already begun with diverse

Arab States like Kuwait and Syria almost clamouring to recognise Israel. The Kuwaitis have, of course, used the Palestinian stance in the Gulf war to carry out a ruthless persecution of Palestinians living in Kuwait with racism gaining a vengeful sanction.

Equally critical for the United States is the control of potentially-strong Muslim States in the region, and Iran is the natural focus of this policy in the aftermath of the destruction of Iraq. The case of Iraq proves very clearly that the United States does not want to annihilate potentially-strong Muslim States—it seeks to keep them alive but weak. This allows control plus the continuing justification for a military presence.

Iran not only presents the potential of a political and economic regional power, but also symbolises an ideological challenge to the West at a time when the traditional challenge posed by Communism seems to have dissipated. The American wariness of Iran is public knowledge as is the political and psychological fear of the revolutionary Iran that pervades the psyche of the autocratic rulers of the Gulf. That Iran is aware of the U.S. design is clear from its negative reaction to the U.S.-Kuwait pact.

The close proximity of Kuwait to Iran makes the American military presence in the region, as well as the joint exercises, an additional concern in Iran's security parameters. After all, if the Kuwaitis feel the need to enhance their security through an American defence agreement, their perceived threat can only be rationalised within the region—that is, in terms of Iran and Iraq as well as the internal dimension, given the non-democratic structures of the Kuwaiti state. Thus, Iran can rationally see itself as one of the focal points of this new defence agreement.

However, the fallout of this pact is not limited to the immediate vicinity of what is traditionally seen as the Gulf region. Pakistan will be directly affected, and adversely so, by this U.S.-Kuwait arrangement. It provides the U.S. with a very powerful level—the oil factor—to manipulate and pressurise Pakistan into compromising the development of a nationalist security perspective and the necessary components of such a perspective.

In addition, the new U.S. alliance with the Gulf States has meant that Pakistan will be unable to get Arab assistance for weapons' acquisition and the development of its indigenous weapons production. With arms purchases being made increasingly according to American diktats, the Gulf States will in all probability move away from Pakistan even in terms of small conventional arms towards sellers whose arms industries the Americans would like to bolster. As for the technical military support provided by Pakistan to countries like Kuwait, that will now come to an end, with negative economic consequences for Pakistan.

For Pakistan, the impact of the U.S.-Kuwait defence pact needs to be viewed within the broad framework of the U.S. policy of punishing Pakistan for its refusal to fall

in line with Western nuclear policy. This policy is reflected at multiple levels, and one major component of this is the denial of conventional arms to Pakistan by the United States and its allies. The most recent example of this is the embargo imposed by Germany on military sales to Pakistan.

The undermining of Pakistan's military capability is seen not only as a form of pressure to induce Pakistan into unilaterally abandoning its nuclear weapons potential, but also as a means of denying Pakistan a military capability against an Indian threat. This denial is being seen as necessary to compel Pakistan into all manner of political compromises with India.

It is the India factor that will become increasingly important from Pakistan's perspective within the framework of the new U.S. security arrangement in the Gulf. Not only does India have very close links with the Gulf States, it is also developing a closer politico-military relationship with the United States.

The Lagomarsino Amendment, relating to the nuclear issue, gave recognition to India's nuclear status, and the visit of India's military chief to the United States was reflective of the new understanding reached between the two States during the Gulf war. The refuelling of American planes in India and the holding of a high-level bilateral conference on security during the Gulf war were, of course, the first indicators of the potential for this new Indo-U.S. security understanding.

It is abundantly clear that the American Gulf-security arrangement is merely the first of a series of military arrangements stretching from the Gulf into the Asia-Pacific region. Within this design, India becomes a critical actor not only because of its geostrategic situation, but also because of its economic lucrativeness, including its potentially huge market. In any event, India's growing naval strength makes it necessary for the United States to seek Indian cooperation in its efforts to expand the military foundations of the new world order.

Given this framework, Pakistan needs to seek an alternative regional security arrangement to counter the negative impact of the U.S. security arrangement in the Gulf. Soviet global military and political withdrawal is not being accompanied by an equivalent American withdrawal and, therefore, there will continue to be a strong external military presence in Pakistan's security environment. The projected moves towards arms reduction and global demilitarization have little credibility in view of a revival of regional defence arrangements by the United States. The U.S.-Kuwait defence pact has reasserted the primacy of the military factor in the regional security environment, and Pakistan must seek an appropriate response.

Media Held Responsible for Politicization of Army

91AS1570I Karachi DAWN in English 7 Sep 91 p 11

Article by Saquib Yusuf: "Army: Back to Professionalism"]

[Text] It cannot be denied that the Pakistani nation once revered and looked up, wide-eyed, to their men in uniform. In the heady days of 1948 and then again after the 1965 war with the Indians, no one would hear a word against the army.

Surprisingly, today, after signal failures to perform its foremost duty, after a succession of successful military coups, after several operations against its own people, and after decades of thrusting itself into every sphere of the nation's activity, the army is fortunate enough to be standing at the threshold, still able to choose the image that it wishes to carry with it into the next century.

That the army is yet able to decide the direction from which it will approach the next hundred years is a tribute to three years of public rationing effort from its high command, a body that happily included the new chief of army staff.

When this set of commanders took over the reins in the aftermath of the Bahawalpur crash, the army as a body was largely distrusted and reviled, its interference in the civilian process resented, its Machiavellian manoeuvring of the political process, through its intelligence organs, despised. In short, the army had over the twenty-five years before that turning point become a singularly unloved institution.

While General Aslam Beg can take much of the credit for stemming the rot and for initiating moves to restore the army to its former happy position in the hearts of the people, his own predilection for assuming the role of political sage and counsellor brought him to centre-stage more often than was becoming or necessary for a military commander.

Notwithstanding that failing, his promise of keeping the army away from the political arena and his living up to that promise will be central in assuring his place in the history books of this country. Given the trends and fresh norms instituted by him into the army's code of conduct, his successor cannot have had much difficulty in drafting the right words for his first public address upon assumption of office.

Whatever his innermost thoughts may have been or what the objectives that he intends to pursue may eventually prove to be, he would have been unlikely to inform the nation that the army under his leadership would henceforth take a greater interest in politics! Nevertheless, banner headlines were given to the new COAS's [Chief of Army Staff] first order of the day, and editorial whoops of delight accompanied the reporting of his words promising that he would distance the army from the legislature, executive and judiciary.

Perhaps the new COAS sincerely believes that his army should stay aloof from politics. Perhaps, the lesson of the Gulf war has been learnt and the army wishes to concentrate on professionalism and modernisation. Perhaps the images of the failed Soviet coup will make armies across the world more cautious and more wary of civilians who are now armed with up-to-the minute knowledge of events.

Perhaps the divisive results of previous forays into civilian domains have been assimilated. Whatever the reasons, if the army professes its desire to stay dutifully within its legal bounds, it should be helped to do so whole-heartedly.

One would expect the politicians, the media and the army itself to provide the major inputs for this welcome change. But the whole nation has witnessed, with dismay, the collective and seemingly irreversible free fall undertaken by politicians of all hues into the pits of irresponsibility and insanity.

The politicians with whom the nation is burdened have in any case been guilty of urging successive commanders of the army on to their own power base, and of then deluding them into illusions of indispensability. Those amongst the public who still look to the politicians for some kind of exemplary leadership are few and far between. From the politicians then, as far as constructive efforts towards helping the army to restrain itself is concerned, we can expect the usual nothing.

The media too does not have a happy track record to boast of when it comes to the army. The official radio, television and newspapers have proved to be incapable of performing any useful role whatever the context. They have in general toed the official line, projected meaningless words and ridiculous policies, hyped up mediocre intellects and inflated modest egos.

They have slogan-mongered and trodden the worn-out path of glib quotations, patriotic songs and flag waving in an attempt to paper over the cracks in national unity when plain and simple truthfulness might have served the purpose better. The free Press has only falteringly taken up the trampled banner of independent thought and positive criticism, and it too is guilty of needlessly projecting the army.

The unwarranted and universal campaign to bring the army onto centre-stage has led to the infiltration by that institution of day-to-day life to the extent where each child is armed with the names of the corps commanders, military governors and martial law administrators.

Public discussion of any event, civil or military, invariably includes the bandying about of the names of one's favourite officers in the ISI [Inter Services Intelligence], or arguments over the merits and demerits of Hamid Gul and Kalloo. Here, officers have scarcely been weaned into the army where their eagerness to assert their personal importance over that of their office begins to show itself.

No sooner has an officer gained the rank of Brigadier than he becomes a household name in Pakistan. Nowhere in the world do individual personalities assume the same dimensions as those associated with important offices in the army and its sister agencies in Pakistan today. Nowhere are they so image conscious. Surely, when the need arises, heroes and professionals with once unfamiliar names like Aziz Bhatti and Schwarzkopf surface automatically.

The Press corps, which gathers around, ears agog and pencils scratching each time a general opens his mouth, the army's own PR teams and its information services bear much of the responsibility for creating these military heroes off the battlefield and thus by equating the two, lowering the status and dignity of the true heroes of the battlefield.

It is incumbent upon the media to play its part in ensuring that the army stays away from the political and constitutional process and from the deceptive stardom to which the media itself instantly elevates the most innocuous of personalities.

The newspapers are not bound to report every comment made by a man in uniform. In times of war the army chooses to shy away from the Press. In peace time the Press should maintain its distance from the army. Thus, it will be assisting the army to focus on the effort required to make itself the efficient and deterrent force that it is not today and that it needs to be with a large, hostile and menacing neighbour at our doorsteps.

What has been most welcome in the few days since the new COAS took over has been the almost total absence of his name from the daily newspapers and TV and radio news bulletins. Who the COAS meets everyday and what he has for breakfast is no longer being considered as page one material.

That is a promising start and exactly as it should be. But what we look forward to is the day when the nation asks its soldiers to do their duty and the man stepping forward to answer the call has to tell us who he is.

Radical Reforms of Police Department Urged

91AS1576E Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
12 Sep 91 p 6

[Text] We keep on hearing stories of police brutality from remote villages in the Punjab and Sindh and then they are forgotten with the usual clicking of tongues and a few snide, even malicious remarks against a force which is supposed to enforce law and order in the country. The Aasia Ayub case hit the people of the sister cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad hard because it happened so close to home. The SHO [station house officer] of the Banni police station could not possibly have imagined that the entire press would be taken up with the way Aasia Ayub was tortured and as alleged, raped at the precinct he presides over, among other humiliations. Cold statistics reveal that no less than 26 women have been raped in police stations over the last six months—and these are only those cases which have been brought to public attention. Instances of police brutality other than the most heinous of offences would make an excellent subject for a horror movie.

It would be rare indeed to find a policeman who is not corrupt. The police force is riddled with corruption right down the line. In fact, young men aspiring to join the police do so not because they have any desire to serve the people or uphold the law, but to make fast money. Investigations are conducted through the use of third degree methods and physical violence because the investigation officer has been taught from the word go that torture and humiliation are the quickest methods of extracting confessions. To say nothing of the fact that the heirs of the people subjected to such brutality would sell the shirts off their backs to alleviate the sufferings of their dear ones. A few years back, it may be remembered, a policeman absconded from a thana in Rawalpindi after a young man he had been interrogating died during investigation. This policeman had stated that one of the perks of the police force was the freedom to torture people!

We have a committee now considering and debating police reforms. The first and foremost reform should be that any police officer found guilty of torturing suspects be dismissed from service straightaway. Likewise, police officials proven guilty of molesting or raping women suspects during interrogation should be given punitive punishment.

Moreover, we talk about eliminating corruption ad nauseum. There is no better starting point than the police department to begin the purge. For another thing, it would help greatly if our politicians stopped patronising bestial policemen.

Writer Cynical of Western Media Access

91AS1570G Lahore *THE NATION* in English
4 Sep 91 p 7

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "Changing Faces on the Media Scene"]

[Text] It is not just that August witnessed a change of face in the country's most important and powerful institution, namely, the Pakistan Army. Several media institutions too saw changes, mostly new appointments, save for *THE NEWS* in Lahore whose Editor, Hussain Naqi, maintained his reputation as Pakistani journalism's most consistent conscientious objector when he resigned on grounds of principle.

That the Pakistani media scene is undergoing changes, is reflected in the change of face in certain institutions and exit of others, including the impending demise of two of the country's oldest newspapers. The last few weeks have also been a period of pressure for at least two newspapers, *THE MUSLIM* and *THE FRONTIER POST*, both of whom are being subjected to an advertisement chop, with the latter even being threatened by no less a person in the state apparatus as the Chief Minister of Sindh.

A new Information Secretary has been appointed and for the second time in Pakistan's history, the incumbent has previously been Foreign Secretary as well, an apt example of "mixing of drinks" in the government bureaucracy as far as changes of position go. It so happens that the new Information Secretary, Tanvir Ahmed Khan, is also a former academic having taught English Literature at the Government College in Lahore.

A former Information Secretary has been appointed to run the rapidly disintegrating, notorious National Press Trust, in which role he is expected to preside over the demise of both *IMROZE* published from Lahore and Multan, and *MORNING NEWS* published from Karachi. Officially, both these newspapers have been put up for sale, but since there are not expected to be any buyers, the likelihood is of their fading away into history like, say, *THE CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE* which was published from Lahore before its demise in the early 60s.

Since it is a period of induction of new and old Information Secretaries, that process will continue in *THE MUSLIM* where Pakistan's once famous Information Secretary, and also the most controversial, will take over as Editor-in-Chief in the second week of this month. Altaf Gauhar is finally returning to Pakistan, and to Islamabad, a place where he served as Information Secretary to Ayub Khan during 1963-69, and he is joining the newspaper which, as it so happens, is owned by Agha Murtaza Pooya, who himself is Information Secretary of the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance].

In appointing Altaf Gauhar as the Editor-in-Chief of *THE MUSLIM*, Agha Murtaza Pooya has maintained his penchant for springing a surprise. He surprised most observers when he launched *THE MUSLIM* on May 17, 1979 as Islamabad's first English daily, at a time (during Zia's Martial law, six weeks after Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's execution) and location (it was then widely but erroneously believed that Islamabad was "not the right place" to launch a newspaper), perceived to be inopportune. He surprised many when *THE MUSLIM* emerged as an

anti-establishment spokesman espousing liberal causes right under the nose of General Ziaul Haq. And he again sprung a surprise when he created a record by sacking 110 employees of THE MUSLIM, in what remains a record removal of so many employees in one stroke, on account of budgetary pressures. His track record of surprises has continued, with the appointment of a 29-year-old as the country's youngest Editor at THE MUSLIM, and the appointment of Pakistan's first female Editor at THE MUSLIM notwithstanding the self-professed "fundamentalism" of Agha Murtaza Pooya. And now, he sprung another surprise when as Information Secretary of the IJI he spoke from the same podium as Benazir Bhutto, a "flirtation" that probably resulted in the government cutting off advertisements to THE MUSLIM.

In getting Altaf Gauhar to work in THE MUSLIM as Editor-in-Chief, Agha Murtaza Pooya has also maintained his reputation of being a "collector". Earlier, in 1990, he had offered the same slot to another senior retired bureaucrat, Ijlal Haider Zaidi, who declined the offer. This reputation of a collector of Agha Murtaza Pooya is well-founded since THE MUSLIM is one newspaper with the largest number of names on its mast-head (there are seven in all!) including the Founder (the only living Founder of any newspaper) plus a whole lot of different designations that perhaps only a discerning media observer can comprehend. Additionally, since its inception 12 years ago, THE MUSLIM has had 20 different persons holding key offices: four Editors-in-Chief, four Chief Executives, two Managing Editors, five Editors, three Presidents, one Executive Editor and one Editor-designate. THE MUSLIM has also been known as an institution providing for senior ex-Editors, including A. T. Chaudhri, A.B.S. Jafri and Farhad Zaidi, who wears two hats since he is also President of the APNS [All Pakistan Newspapers Society]. And THE MUSLIM has also been known to produce Editors, with, among others, Zafar Iqbal Mirza (ZIM), Dr. Maleeha Lodhi and Ghani Jafar being some of the "products from THE MUSLIM's Editor production line."

A cynic has rightly termed THE MUSLIM as the Tehrik-e-Istiqlal of Pakistani journalism"; since almost all the prominent politicians of the country have once been members of the Tehrik-e-Istiqlal, similarly most prominent journalist in the English language, including reporters and columnists, have at some time or the other been associated with THE MUSLIM. Even today, columnists like ZIM, Ayaz Amir and Khalid Hasan who are among the most popular wielders of the pen in the country, have had a muta (temporary marriage) with THE MUSLIM.

Apart from THE MUSLIM THE FRONTIER POST, published from Peshawar and Lahore, is also undergoing an advertisement cut from the government. Recently, THE FRONTIER POST was also threatened by Sindh Chief Minister Jam Sadiq Ali for its reporting in that troubled province which has been at considerable variance from the officially-certified truth dished out from

Karachi. Newspaper organisations like the CPNE [Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors] and the APNS have strongly condemned governmental efforts to muzzle the media. What is positive in this situation is the unified stand that newspapers and media organisations have taken on the issue of THE FRONTIER POST, which is a repeat of the earlier media efforts to resist the encroachment on Press freedom that were planned, but could not be executed, by the Information Ministry in the form of a new Press ordinance aimed at diluting the hard-fought freedoms of the Press. If such maturity among the media is sustained, the Pakistani Press will certainly emerge as a potent, unified force, truly the Fourth Estate that it should be in form and substance.

One of the pillars who endeavoured to consistently uphold the freedom of the Press and the rights of the working journalists, Nisar Osmani, recently retired as Bureau Chief of DAWN in Lahore. He showed courage and commitment in defending the rights of the journalists both in his individual capacity as a journalist and in his institutional role as President of the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalist (PFUJ). However, it is good that Nisar Osmani will continue his journalistic activities, albeit in a limited role, since he has been a formidable and familiar face in Pakistani journalism today.

Postscript: After Emma Duncan's *Breaking the Curfew*, another white western woman journalist, Christina Lamb, has come out with her "insider's account" of what goes behind the closed doors of Pakistan's corrupt and decadent ruling class. With her book *Waiting for Allah*, Christina Lamb has shown how much access a white western woman enjoys as a journalist in the upper echelons of Pakistani society. One reason for this unprecedented opening of doors to white western women among the all-male Pakistani elite is that it has traditionally suffered from a deep, cultural inferiority complex. If these two books are to be believed, then most of Pakistan's top officialdom and politicians are security risks, who are willing to spill the beans after the first drink or the first opportunity of a contact—physical, social or intellectual—with a White Western Woman! These books can serve as instructive primers for an intelligence organisation like the Mosad on how best and how easily they should be able to ferret out secrets from among the men who matter. If a Pakistani journalist were to attempt to even tell such unvarnished truth, he would probably be hauled up under the Official Secrets Act and be declared "anti-state" as well. But he would not have such unlimited access to his country's leadership in the first place!

Trafficking of Bihari Women Detailed

91AS1570D Lahore THE NATION in English
31 Aug 91 p 3

[Article by Wasif Ali Khan: "Bihari Women Trafficking: An Odyssey of Agony and Shame"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The arrest of three border villagers for trying to sell a Bihari woman who had immigrated illegally early this month is merely the tip of the iceberg of a fast developing trade in Bihari and Bangladeshi women.

Organised gangs in the border villages make slaves of the Bihari women, who have come with their families to Pakistan illegally, then they sell them to smugglers in Lahore, who then 'market' them all over the country, especially in Karachi, which is reputed to have the largest stock of women for sale in the country.

On August 4 after a long time the police registered a case against one such group, which was unearthed by the Rangers. Those arrested were three Narhowarh villagers, a Bangladeshi, and a Bihari woman, their latest victim. While on their way to Lahore they were caught in a Suzuki pick-up on a BRB Canal bridge at midnight.

The Bangladeshi, Muhammad Irshad, told the police that he came to Pakistan for a job and was employed by Javed Iqbal two months ago. He further revealed that Javed, with two friends, Asghar Ali and the pickup driver Muhammad Saddiq, had used him as a translator last month for another Bihari girl they had kidnapped. He disclosed that she had come to Pakistan from India illegally with her family. They had taken her to the Qaddafi Hotel near the railway station and sold her, he added. He said that they were doing the same to the girl who was caught with them. The police registered cases against the four men under Hadood Ordinance and the Bihari woman, Sakina, under other provisions of law.

However, the police have yet to take any action against the person who had been running this racket. Irshad stated to the police that his employer had gone to Qaddafi Hotel to sell the Bihari woman last month. The hotel owner Syed Tahawur Ali, mostly known as Taawarh Shah is suspected of being involved in hashish smuggling as well as the Bihari-Bangladeshi flesh trade, has business relations with well-known smugglers like Muzaffar Khan, wanted since 1984 for smuggling 18 maunds of opium, Saeed Khan, Jan Khan, and Haji Shah. The hotel guests are mostly Indians, Bangladeshis, and Africans. Taawarh Shah, who has a pious appearance, also buys smuggled goods from these foreigners and makes Indian liquor available at the hotel. The police have completely ignored this important aspect of the case, indicating the level on which this inhuman trade is carried out and the way police have closed its eyes to it.

The odyssey of the Biharis starts from Bangladesh and ends in Pakistan. The price paid by the time they reach Pakistan is extremely high. During the journey, only a lucky few manage to reach the promised land for many are not only looted, raped, or imprisoned but shot or starved to death. The Indian Government itself promotes the exodus of Biharis into Pakistan, mingling its spies in their ranks. On the other hand, Pakistan Rangers are equally vigilant in pushing them back into India, which turns the Bihari into a citizen of no-man's land.

The few who manage to escape, stay temporarily in the villages near the border. It is from here that the flesh trade starts.

For many years unscrupulous travelling agents in Bangladesh have been exploiting the thesis that Pakistan is a wealthy country with plenty of job opportunities and food, and no annual floods. They take Rs.[rupees]6,000 per head to take them to the cherished land of Pakistan. The poor illiterate Bihari villager families gather all the money they can by selling their small property to start the odyssey in groups of 50 to 60, including young children and women. The agents charge Rs. 2,000 in advance to take them to Calcutta by train, where the Bihari group is handed over to their Indian agents. The Indian agents take them to Delhi by train or bus.

The Indian Government had given many relaxation to the Bangladeshis, so the agents do not face any problem taking the Biharis to Delhi [sentence as published]. In Delhi the agents demand the rest of the money before sending them to Amritsar by train. At Amritsar Railway Station, after clearance from Customs the passengers change trains for Pakistan, and the agents dodge the Biharis somehow and make their way back to Calcutta, leaving the Biharis all alone at the mercy of the Customs officials.

The hardships of the Biharis multiply from here onwards as the Customs officials, instead of handing them to the police on an Entry Act violation, confiscate their luggage and take away all the money and gold they have. Then they push them onto the train to Pakistan.

At Lahore Railway Station, the railway police and the Customs officials immediately take them into custody. It is the first time the Biharis enter Pakistan. Here very few manage to escape. Apart from those who are suspected of being spies the rest of the Biharis are forced to go back to India by the very next train.

Now again in India, the Biharis are handed over to the Indian Border Security Force (BSF) by Indian Customs. The BSF takes the Biharis to the outskirts of Amritsar where small camps, known as Bihari Camps, have been set up along the Indo-Pak border from Rajatal to Khangarh, that is the Thenrua-Keharwala border of Pakistan. Here the BSF keeps them, for one or two days, and twice a night, at 1000 and 0200, they take out 60 to 70 Biharis from the camps. The BSF then turn off the border searchlights, open the gates, and push the Biharis, whom they have previously hidden in nearby fields, through the gates.

Pakistan Rangers patrols, keen to catch spies and smugglers, arrest the Biharis, using their arms and injuring many while killing a few. Those arrested by the Rangers, apart from those suspected of being spies, are kept until the next noon when they are pushed back into India. In India again many are injured and killed in the process of capture by the BSF who send them back again. A Rangers officer said, "I've arrested the same Bihari as many as 10 times." The lucky few Biharis who manage to

escape the Ranger patrols take temporary refuge in the nearby villages along the Pakistani border.

It is from here the trade in women begins. These border villages are already well known for smuggling. The smugglers have at least one Bengali servant, who helps to communicate between the smugglers and the ill-fated Bihari families (and is cheap). At the end of the road, the Biharis are left with nothing even to buy food. These smugglers offer to buy their young daughters, sisters, and newly married wives, threatening to hand them over to the police if they refuse. The Biharis are left with no choice but to accept, and sell their womenfolk for Rs. 3,000, to Rs. 5,000 depending upon their looks, physical condition, and age.

The travails of the Biharis do not finish in the border villages of the Punjab. After selling their sisters, daughters and wives, they start moving towards the main city Lahore as their first stop on the way to their final destination—Karachi. Afraid of being caught, they move by night, for now the only check-posts they have to avoid are those on the BRB Canal bridges. The police is of the opinion that the canal can be only crossed over the bridges, but a District Council member revealed that because the Biharis are very good swimmers, the BRB is nothing more than a pool for them.

In Lahore the Biharis mostly do have someone to support them, who not only provide them with shelter, food, and clothing but also national ID cards, which converts them into citizens. From there the Biharis travel towards Karachi by bus or train where they settle permanently. Their journey is over, and there is every chance that they can be reunited with their women there, whom they can buy back from the flourishing market in illegal female slaves that exists.

Commentary Enquires Into Police Crimes Against Women

92AS0016E Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
25 Sep 91 p 6

[Text] On the anvil is a piece of legislation forbidding the detention of women "even for a single minute" in a police station. The disgrace and torture suffered by Aasia Ayub appears to have touched the bureaucratic conscience at last. It is ironic that we should need laws to protect our women on whom we rely for the protection and upbringing of our children. Police rape is not new in the country but the phenomenon seems to be recurring with heartrending frequency. According to unconfirmed reports, some twenty-eight women were raped by the police in the past six months going by the cases which have come to public notice. It is not enough for the Interior Ministry to recommend legislation providing that male police officer should "as far as possible" not investigate women suspects. The law should provide that no male police officer is allowed to investigate women suspects, and if required, they must be accompanied by a lady police officer.

But law can be effective only if implemented honestly and completely. Police crimes against women are taking place despite the Hudood Ordinance and a Lahore High Court ruling forbidding a woman to be held overnight in a police station, amongst other rulings. Enactment of more laws is not going to restrain the police from indulging in illegal activities. Consistent failure of the authorities (both the police and the government) to ensure that those who commit violence against women are punished, and swiftly, is responsible for encouraging the continued police brutality and injustice against women. The Aasia Ayub case has put the government on trial. Unless exemplary punishment—dismissal from service and life imprisonment for the guilty officers—is meted out, the whole exercise of enacting more laws protecting women will come to naught.

The proposed legislation requires that suspect women should be detained in a judicial lock-up and not in a police station. This will not necessarily protect women from any possible assault by a policeman. What we need is a separate prison for women prisoners administered only by female officers.

Overview of Literacy Programs

Establishment Criticized

92AS0007A Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
19 Sep 91 pp 26-28

[Article by Zafaryab Ahmed: "Limits of Literacy"]

[Text] A high dropout rate at the primary level, insufficient budgetary allocations for education, lopsided planning and lack of understanding about the nature of the problem are the chief factors responsible for Pakistan's rather dismal literacy rate. More than 50 percent of those who join primary schools don't complete the first stage of their education. According to a 1981 report, about 13 million people were imparted education between 1947-81. A break-up of this figure shows that 46 percent of those 13 million had their education only up to primary, 23 percent up to middle and 20 percent up to the matric level. Only 5.9 percent reached the intermediate, 3.9 percent graduate level and just one percent reached the post-graduate level.

Mass illiteracy is one of the major challenges that Pakistan faces today. It calls for universal primary education at one level and adult literacy at another. Our progress in this field in the last 44 years or so has been dismally low. According to the official claims for this year, the national literacy percentage is 26.2, a 13 percent increase over 1947. If we continue at the same pace, one can safely say that we will be able to achieve 100 percent literacy in the first quarter of the 24th century, that is if the definition of literacy remains what it is today. This is the situation despite all official "concern" for literacy. Official slogans like Literacy for Democratic Organisation of Society, Literacy for Development and Change, Literacy for Social Uplift, have been used with any practical work.

The 1981 census described literacy as a "test of ability to write a simple letter and to read a newspaper." However, Pakistan has officially adopted the UNESCO definition according to which a literate person is one "who is ten years of age or older with the ability to read with understanding and to write a short statement on everyday life in any language."

The First International Conference on Education was held in Karachi in October-November 1947, on the personal initiative of the Quaid-i-Azam. The Conference resolved to wipe out illiteracy in Pakistan by means of universal free and compulsory education. Successive governments adopted one scheme or another to pursue the objective.

The Literacy and Mass Education Campaign was the biggest effort made in our history. A multi-billion-rupee project aimed at overcoming at least 25 percent of the problem during the 6th Plan period. Offices were opened, staff was recruited, targets were set, publicity campaigns were launched, primers were prepared. This, too, ended in a fiasco. Bureaucratic bottlenecks may be there and frequent changes of government may be the reason, but there are other factors, the principal one being that the campaign created thousands of jobs but it failed to mobilise those who were to be educated. Education officials tended to treat illiteracy like an epidemic which could be cured with literacy workers and literacy capsules.

The primers which were prepared did not only have an urban bias but were also alien to the locale of illiteracy. Successive governments have launched literacy drives without bothering to know what illiteracy is. Who are the illiterates? Why are they illiterate? Did they make a conscious choice to remain on the periphery of society and all that it involves—hunger, disease, pain, death, crime and despair?

The entire approach has been erroneous. It is premised on expanding enrolment which has been seen as an indicator of the success or failure of a campaign.

Illiterate persons are mature and belong mostly to low income groups, a majority of them being women. They have experienced life which they comprehend within the framework of their primitive, fatalistic concepts. They survive in a situation of ethnic, communal and factional tensions. Their main pre-occupation is to make a living. Despite the increasing division of labour, the family still remains a unit of production for them. They do not have enough time to read and write and have no concept of leisure and intellectual pursuits. They are not change-resistant. Their place in society is such that they are left with no time to spare. Reading and writing does not attract them and what little they are given to read has no relevance to them.

Literacy, however, is a relative concept not only historically but also to the social, economic and scientific level of development of a society. At a certain stage of human

development, education used to be oral and had different purposes to serve. It was not necessary for everybody. Inability of read and write was no bar to one being educated. Running and maintenance of the societies were simple and so was the nature of human relationships. Even after the advent of the age of the written word, it remained confined to those who had to pursue careers in statecraft or were advisers to the rulers.

With the emergence of modern, industrial societies and the development of science and knowledge, there arose the need for widening the base of education and providing some kind of education to all, even for those who were grown up. The advanced countries where the need grew organically with societal advancement, illiteracy did not become a problem. In countries under colonial rule, where exploitation was the condition of development, people experienced it differently. Their problem was compounded by multiplicity of education. It became difficult to determine a language of literacy. There came to exist a reality to which majority of the people became marginal. Without looking into the cultural, economic, social and political dimension of the problem, officials end up moaning about our low rate of literacy. After spending a whole lot of money every year.

A couple of months ago, Dr. Laeeq Ahmed Khan, Director-General, Pakistan Institute of Education and Planning and Development said: "We have to agree on a definition of literacy", as if it was just a problem of definition. However, overall official attitude has forced many to ask whether the Government really wants to raise the national literacy rate. Because countries not only outside the region but also some of our neighbouring countries with more or less similar kind of structural constraints appear to have done it quite effectively. Take a look at Sri Lanka, for example. Wherever the campaigns for mass education have succeeded, the main reason has been the government's ability to mobilise the people.

In Brazil, the movement for mass education was, in fact, one of the many ways to mobilise the masses. Institutional support came from many social, cultural and political groups. Their objectives ranged from increasing participation in elections and to raise the cultural level. The former obviously were led by political parties and the latter by the cultural movements led by students. These trends were there in India also during the freedom movement. In Brazil, the growth of trade unions both rural and urban and the strikes contributed to the realisation and mobilisation of the need for literacy which was then supported by a concerted literacy campaign. Not that it was not interrupted by aberrations like coups but it went on. Similarly, Chile, despite all its ups and downs, has a remarkably high rate of literacy. The reasons for the success of the literacy campaigns wherever these have succeeded is not their fancy names but a relationship of the literacy drive with the needs and immediate situation of the illiterate people.

Our primers are mostly inspired from the top and betray a lack of the enthusiasm and energy to launch a gigantic literacy drive. We have tried to mobilise the people for literacy by using religion and have given sanctimonious titles like *Iqra*, opening up mosque schools and *maktabs*. Mr. Junejo's Government called it *Nai Roshni* but failed to generate popular interest. The technocrats, instead of determining the causes of the failure for successive literacy campaigns, find excuse in other shortcomings in the situation, the easiest and most plausible being the high rate of population growth and low budgetary allocations. True, but these problems were there when they launched the literacy programme. They could plan better or say "no". Truism has become an excuse for bureaucratic inability and incompetence. The Establishment keeps silent, perhaps because educating the poor is a bigger risk than their ignorance.

Women's Development

92AS0007B Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
19 Sep 91 p 27

["Excerpts" from a presentation by Dr. Usha Nayar at the APDC [expansion not given] South Asian Workshop, Kuala Lumpur, 1989: "Education for Women's Development"]

[Text] At least 444 million women in Asia are illiterate. Asia accounts for two-thirds of all illiterate people in the world and two-thirds of these are women. Few South Asian women can read and write a short simple statement on their life (UNESCO's definition of literacy). In Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh, less than 25 percent of women are literate. Countries in the region with higher literacy rates (above 80 percent) include Vietnam, the Philippines, Fiji, the Maldives, Thailand and South Korea. Two-thirds of the women in Hong Kong, Indonesia and Malaysia are literate.

Although the illiteracy rate is gradually falling, population growth and the impact of the world economic crisis means that the absolute number of adult illiterates and out-of-school children is rising dramatically. China has 159 million adult female illiterates, India 144 million and there are 18 million illiterate women each in Pakistan and Bangladesh. Rural females are at the bottom of the literacy pyramid with urban males at the top. In certain districts of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, rural female literacy rates touch a low one to two percent and there are reported to be a large number of villages where not a single woman can read or write leading to a constant scarcity of female development workers in the rural areas.

The approach to women's education and development is generally characterised by the "social expediency" model, that is, how to make women more useful to the family. This needs to be reoriented as in viewing women only as mothers and wives, the model ignores the necessity for restructuring relationships within the family, economy and polity. There needs to be sensitivity to the

life cycles of women and girls so that educational planning is based on the reality of their lives and in consultation with them. Adult education programmes, for example, need to be able to motivate rural women and urban poor women who are past the school-going age to join the programmes.

Female literacy and school enrolment have improved tremendously in countries with strong health policies. Thus, education for all cannot be achieved without health for all, and the two together mean a whole set of complements like medical facilities, clean drinking water, and early childhood education and care. The process of industrialisation and high economic growth increases the demand for literate and educated workers as it occurred in Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia, and hence female participation in schools. Countries like the Philippines, Thailand and Sri Lanka, which have a lower industrial base and moderate growth, have also achieved high female literacy levels due to more egalitarian gender structures in society, where women's contribution is more valued.

Freedom First

92AS0007C Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
19 Sep 91 pp 28-29

[Article by Hamid Hasan Kizlbash: "Freedom Is a Pre-requisite for Literacy"]

[Text] The issue of literacy and that of education in general has suffered primarily because we have failed to create conditions necessary for its promotion. Literacy is not the issue. The issue is what does our society, our culture, our system, demand from a citizen. For instance, in a feudal setup, naturally, the landlord demands obedience. He doesn't need education. Not even religion. What he wants is an ideology to keep the mass of the peasantry subservient. If this is the dominant attitude, how can we have literacy or education?

Only a free person can have the desire for education. So to my mind, the biggest lacuna in our society is the discrepancy between our desire to have literacy and our inability to create the necessary conditions or preconditions. We have developed a habit of moaning about our low literacy rate. We have never tried to ask why we haven't made any progress.

There are a lot of explanations or excuses like the increase in population. But these are just excuses. Then what we are giving to our people is not literacy. This is another kind of sweet poison. Even if someone is able to read and write, what difference does that make? What is more important is that we have, over these long years of military rule, reached a point where the most conscious of us, the most sensible among us, seem to forget the agenda of the politics of Pakistan—the need for social change.

The sequence—first literacy, then development—is erroneous, it has to be freedom first, then literacy and then

development. Unless we decide to free our people. Only then we can make them literate.

All these years we have simply failed to tread the path of freedom. Paulo Frere says that sometimes a people in a position to liberate themselves do not do so. I would like to reiterate that you can't move towards literacy without meeting the preconditions that I have referred to.

We have recently tried to do some work in mohalla schools. We have been meeting people to understand the problems of literacy. I think there is need for creating a mohalla organisation of poor parents who want to educate their children, who want to keep their locality clean and do not want to throw garbage out into the open. Where do you think that the emphasis is lacking? Very simply, if you want to change the nation then you require to create a system in which the individual becomes somebody in which his present situation changes.

I am not sure if the NGOs [nongovernmental organizations] and the women's organisations—some of them have just started work—have done very much. A lot of the NGOs are really not in the business of doing things. They are basically in the business of providing consultancy services, getting funds, doing surveys and studies. Most of them are not doing any practical work. I am not suggesting that these people have the responsibility to do things. My position is totally different: the people will have to become aware of the fact that they are important, that their education matters, that their lives matter. Now everybody wants money. This is what matters most today.

The initiative basically has to come from the people themselves. If the primers are alien to their locale, why hasn't the rural child or his parents done anything? Had this country been free, the parents would themselves have gone and told the teacher or higher authorities that the curriculum was useless and forced curriculum committees to develop syllabi which were relevant to our requirements.

I am not suggesting that the curriculum committees will give better syllabi. What I am trying to say is that please don't give all the responsibility to the Ministry of Education. If we keep doing that, we wouldn't get anywhere. If we want to get anywhere, initiative will have to come from the local level. The curriculum boards and the Education Ministry can only make the syllabi more cumbersome.

I am not hopeful about the recent literacy drive. Given our experience of such campaigns in the past, there is nothing to be hopeful about. In 1991, I think, there is nothing in our socio-political dialogue about which our people could be hopeful or which could motivate us. Let us look at the problem from a slightly different perspective. Suppose a lot of money is pumped in and they also succeed in mobilising a lot of young and committed volunteers. Suppose all this happens. The most that will be achieved will be passive literacy. When there is money in it and people are bombarded with literacy campaigns,

they may get used to it. If you have a situation where a person has decided that he now wants to read and write, no one will be able to stop him. Then he will create his own literacy programme. He will also find the time for it. The people we want to educate, the people from the rural areas have, during the last 15 or 20 years, become absolutely convinced that nobody is interested in them except for buying their vote or paying occasional ceremonial visits. They are very intelligent people and have great potential for change.—Z.A.

'HEAL' Described

92AS0007D Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
19 Sep 91 p 28

[Article: "What Is HEAL?"]

[Text] HEAL stands for Health, Education, and Adult Literacy. This programme is aimed primarily at rural village mothers and newly married women. Its goals are to help villagers achieve better health and to enable them to take responsibility for their own healthcare.

The Adult Basic Education Society, based in Lahore, carries out HEAL activities through classes where students are taught subjects of nutrition, personal hygiene, sanitation, maternity and baby care, common diseases (their spread, treatment and prevention), first aid, home nursing and accident prevention. Each course lasts for six months/six days a week. This is followed by an optional six-month follow-up course of two-hour classes held three times a week. The preferred class size is 15 to 20 students. During the course, two or three students usually drop out.

Teachers come from the locality in which the classes are held. They are trained in literacy teaching methods by HEAL in an initial course and receive further in-service training by HEAL supervisors. The supervisors are also drawn from the same localities and have received their training from HEAL.

The projects are run on community co-operation under which accommodation for the class, electricity for lighting if available, floor mats and table are secured. While the HEAL project provides funding for the teachers' and supervisors' salaries, class equipment and other materials, class library, all administrative costs, immunisation costs, one-third of the cost of students' books, about 85 percent of teachers' initial training costs, travel costs for teachers' in-service training and for supervisors' travel from work base to classes. Students pay for two-thirds of their own books. Teachers pay Rs.[rupees]30 for their initial training which is deducted from their first pay.

During the course, a local supervisor visits each class once a week to give guidance and further training to the teachers. Representatives of participating organisations, local committees and HEAL meet when necessary to discuss policy, development of materials, progress and

other problems. The HEAL programme is flexible. It can be modified and improved according to the experience and needs of the students.

HEAL reports say that women who join literacy classes do so because they feel that being literate will be able to lead better lives. Some women send their daughters in the hope that they will catch up on what they missed by not going to school, or that they will be able to go to school after these classes. In many cases, there is lack of support from their families and husbands. Young girls are expected to stay at home and help their mothers and look after younger brothers and sisters. Married women are also expected to stay at home and do household chores.

Niazi Interviewed

92AS0007E Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
19 Sep 91 pp 29-30

[Interview with Ms. Ismat Niazi, provincial secretary of the Girl Guides Association (GGA), Punjab: "Small Is Beautiful"]

[Text] The Girl Guides Association of Pakistan has been running adult literacy centres since 1950 on a modest scale. At present, 30 such centres are working in the Punjab, says Ms Ismat Niazi, Provincial Secretary of the GGA, Punjab. She has been working with the Association since 1962, supervising its literacy programmes. She dwelt on the subject in an interview with *VIEWPOINT*.

Excerpts:

VIEWPOINT: What is the Girl Guides Association doing to promote literacy?

Ismat Niazi: The Association has been carrying out successful literacy-promoting programmes constantly without a break for the last 41 years. But we have been operating on a small scale. We started our literacy campaign in 1950 when, during the rehabilitation work for the refugees from India, we realized that our girl guides could participate in educational activities. To attract more guides towards teaching the illiterate, the Association announced a literacy badge to be awarded for those doing literacy-promotion work. A syllabus was prepared for the purpose and the scheme was named as 'Each One, Teach One'. Under the scheme, each girl guide was bound to make one adult literate. The scheme was successful in the sense that one thousand illiterate people benefited in the first stage of this scheme. Later, to give incentive to girl guides to take part in this campaign, our good performance award for the Guides was made contingent upon literacy-promotion work. This motivated the Guides to participate in our literacy campaign. In 1951, the Association launched pilot projects for adult literacy with the help of UNESCO which continued till 1954. Under these projects, literacy centres worked in Lyari (Karachi), Muzaffargarh, Tala Gang, Faisalabad and other places. In Lahore, these centres were part of community development projects.

The work carried out under the 'Each One, Teach One' plan was organised in these pilot projects by providing permanent buildings to all the centres together with teachers. The accommodation was given voluntarily by the communities concerned while the teachers were paid honoraria. The guides also worked for this project. The duration of the literacy course was one year and it was also successful.

VP: Successful in what respect? What are your criteria?

IN: They were an achievement because people participated in them. The annual allocation for the pilot project was only Rs.[rupees]3,000. In 10 to 11 centres the minimum enrolment was 20 to 30, and people responded positively. The drop-out ratio in these centres was very low. Those made literate in these centres got further education. Some of them did matriculation and opted for teaching as a profession. Its impact on the communities concerned was immediate. After 1954, we made these centres the permanent hub of our activities, and for the Guides it was made mandatory to teach at least one illiterate person or to help promote literacy by providing books or collecting funds. They were asked to set up camps in communities to persuade women to join literacy classes. These centres continued till 1976. Their success was due to dedicated teachers and sincere supervisory staff. A teacher used to get Rs. 25 which was increased to Rs. 45 a month in 1974. Our teachers were wholly committed. They were working genuinely, not just showing higher enrolments.

VP: Were these centres for women only?

IN: Yes, they were primarily meant to teach adult females. However, males were also mobilised to set up centres and create confidence among women. In 1964, children were also allowed to join these centres. In the Punjab, especially, we did not reject children. This policy was helpful in attracting more women even though for the married among them it was difficult to leave their children at home.

VP: What is the duration of classes at these centres?

IN: Adult literacy work requires dedication. It must be scientifically based on specific methodology. But we have learnt through experience that the recruitment remains satisfactory if we bend the system according to local needs. We have no fixed timings for classes. Our centres remain open for three hours, from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. Different women come at different times for an hour. A teacher devotes this time only for Rs. 350 per month.

VP: Are there any problems in running these centres?

IN: When women are contacted to join our classes, they say that they don't have the time. Then in villages, sometimes, menfolk are not too keen to let their women or girls attend classes as they think that this will have a bad influence on them. But generally, they cooperate if their confidence is not betrayed. The success of a centre

depends very much on the performance of its teacher. If a teacher is irregular, the community will not co-operate. The awareness about the importance of education has rapidly grown in the rural areas. There are examples where village parents want their children to learn English right from class I. We had set up a centre in Sansani village near Lahore 16 years ago with a widow in charge. People arranged accommodation for her and the centre. The villagers presented a bicycle to her boy for going to school in the nearby town and have now provided money for his marriage. So people do appreciate a teacher's services. It depends upon the worker's performance. The residents of that village are now sending their children to an English-medium private schools in Hanjerwal.

VP: What is the total budget for your literacy programmes?

IN: Out of our total budget of Rs. 1.6 million, the Association is spending Rs. 150,000 on education in the Punjab. We collect this money mostly through our own projects. There are 30 literacy centres in the province out of which 26 are in Lahore. We give salaries to the teachers and primers to students. The rest is collected by mobilising community resources. Every year, about 1,000 people benefit from our courses. Many of them go up to primary stage. Our basic course is for six months and a certificate winning one lasts a year. We were awarded the Raza Shah Delvi Award for literacy in 1968 and the Noma Award by UNESCO in 1988.

VP: In your view why have the various literacy programmes launched by the Government failed to achieve their objective?

IN: There should be a commission to look into their failures. Millions were spent on LAMEC [expansion not given] and then on Nai Roshni schools. Both of them

could not continue. In fact, every campaign was politically motivated. A programme was started by a certain government and ended by its successor without giving any reason. Some of them were working well, especially in the Punjab, the Nai Roshni schools had picked up but suddenly they were closed down. Their achievement percentage should be given along with a list of their failures. If a government wants to run a literacy centre, it should not appoint teachers on recommendations bypassing the merit.

Then, a literacy campaign must be supplemented with something practical such as a sewing course for women or an agriculture course for villagers. The University of Agriculture, Faisalabad, had started literacy classes in the 60s with their own books on basic agriculture. These classes are continuing successfully as the farmers know they are useful. We also impart sewing or other vocational training in our literacy centres. A trained girl can make at least Rs. 1,000 a month after proper training.

Last year, the girls had organised a sale of their work in Sansani village and made Rs. 10,000 in a day. Then there is no coordination among various Government departments. There is an In-service Training Institute in Lala Musa which has been imparting training about community work to Government officials for the last three decades. The Institute is run by experienced and committed workers. But they have never been consulted in launching any adult literacy programme.

VP: Do you think that the literacy rate can be improved within our limited resources?

IN: A lot can be done by mobilising the community's own resources. We can set up literacy centres only with honoraria for teachers and books. The people themselves provide accommodation and the necessary furniture.—
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